THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF NATIONAL SYNDICALISM

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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This book has been translated from Spanish to English by the *Kabataan Nasyonal Sindikalista ng Filipinas* (KNSF), a Filipino Falangist youth organization dedicated to advancing the principles of National Syndicalism in the Philippines.

The original work serves as a *blueprint* for the Syndical State—a political order where class collaboration, national solidarity, and anti-materialist values replace both exploitative capitalism and divisive class struggle. This translation preserves the revolutionary spirit of the text while adapting its framing for a 21st-century audience.

This work seeks to make José Antonio Primo de Rivera's vision of the *Syndical State* accessible to non-Spanish-speaking Falangists. By rendering this text into English, the KNSF aims to:

- **Clarify** how Falangist doctrine translates into practical governance.
- **Illustrate** the structure of a *corporatist-syndicalist economy* as envisioned by early Spanish Falangism.
- **Bridge ideological gaps** for modern nationalist movements seeking an alternative to liberal capitalism and Marxist collectivism.

The KNSF's translation is more than linguistic—it is an *act of ideological transmission*, ensuring that Falangism's critique of liberal democracy, its advocacy for worker dignity under nationalist syndicalism, and its rejection of globalist materialism remain alive for new generations.

Note on Terminology:
Key terms like *"Libertinaje Económico"* (translated here as *"Economic Anarchy"*) have been carefully localized to convey their original doctrinal weight without losing rhetorical force. Where necessary, footnotes provide historical context for Spanish-specific references.

Acknowledgments

We extend our deepest gratitude to our Spanish comrades for their invaluable assistance in this translation effort. Their linguistic guidance have been instrumental in ensuring both the accuracy and revolutionary spirit of this work remain intact.

This collaborative effort stands as testament to the enduring international bonds of the Falangist movement, proving that José Antonio's vision transcends both language and geography.

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PART ONE

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC DOCTRINES

INTRODUCTION

We are witnessing the change of an era. The graph of universal history is a sinuous and periodic line; sometimes it rises to the pinnacle of glory, sometimes it falls so low that it threatens to disappear, reaching these extremes through descent and ascent. This cyclical movement has four phases: the ascending, the greatness, the decadent, and the chaos.

In Western history, we see this pattern clearly marked. The ascending period of Greek and Roman civilizations culminated in the greatness of the Roman Empire. The softness and splendor that followed initiated the first decline, ending in the deep chaos of barbarian invasions. The Middle Ages marked a second ascent leading to Spanish glory in the 1500s, followed by another decline into our present chaos - what we might call a new barbarian invasion. Now a new ascent begins.

"An age concludes, and a future Middle Age is announced. But between classical ages and Middle Ages, history typically interposes catastrophe - what we now see as Moscow's sign: an invasion of barbarians" (1).

Each ascending period features the triumph of man's superior nature over his baser instincts. The Middle Ages saw Christianity triumph over paganism; our coming era must see spiritualism triumph over rationalist paganism and materialism (2).

The Middle Ages knew even wars as religious endeavors (the Crusades, Reconquista). The Modern Age's religious war - the Reformation - cost us unity, just as paganism's revival cost us faith. From this loss of faith and unity came decline.

Some blame machines for our current state, but this misunderstands history. When gunpowder, the printing press, and America's discovery emerged during solid eras, they advanced civilization. Machines appearing during decline merely accelerate existing trends - like stumbling on small stones when already falling.

The Gothic Empire collapsed to Arab invaders only because already weakened; barbarians overcame Rome only after its internal decay. Similarly, machines appeared during our centuries-long decline - they're symptoms, not causes. Earlier tools served workers; machines required capital beyond workers' means. Yet without Rousseau's individualism destroying guilds and enabling laissez-faire excess, machines might have served communities rather than displacing workers.

"Instead of humanizing work, machines displaced workers from workshops, factories and fields" (3). Guilds died with "freedom of work" declarations; laissez-faire philosophy and materialist values reduced life to money-chasing.

Then emerged the new capitalist: without guild restraints, he bought machines not to aid workers but to replace them; organized companies not for production but speculation; treated labor as commodity rather than partnership. Man served machine; spirit served matter.

This bred resentful Marxism - not solutions but hatreds, not construction but destruction: true barbarism. Luther (division), Rousseau (indifference), and Marx (anti-religion) mark our spiritual decline. Where medieval life harmonized under morality, modernity fragmented it: Machiavelli divorced politics from ethics; the Renaissance severed science; Rousseau isolated economics.

We seek not to recreate specific historical moments, but their animating principles - not Charles or Philip's Spain, but Isabella and Ferdinand's vision. Chaos preserves immutable principles: Religion, Homeland, Morality, Justice - society's foundations that no revolution can truly erase.

Barbarians transformed Rome even as they conquered it; Robespierre's "goddess of reason" gave way to renewed faith in Notre Dame. Communism's destructive impulse inevitably breeds reconstruction.

Our program bridges this chaos: making revolution while preserving eternal principles. "From barbarian invasions emerge the seeds of future order... Our task is to cross from collapsing order to new promise without being swept away" (4).

The coming ascent demands constant vigilance - "difficulty continues until the end, and after" (5). We climb not to rest, but to sustain greatness. Our cry isn't for the Spain we inherited, but the Spain we will ascend to: ¡ARRIBA ESPAÑA!

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(1) José Antonio. Meeting at Cine Madrid, November 17, 1935
(2) Saint-Just linked the French Revolution to paganism, calling its legislators "our great ancestors."
(3) Report issued by the National Council meeting on November 15, 1935.
(4) José Antonio. Meeting at Cine Madrid, November 17, 1935.
(5) José Antonio. Meeting on May 19, 1935, at Cine Madrid.

CHAPTER ONE

CREATION OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The social problem, in the breadth and intensity with which we experience it today, was formed in the 18th century by the conjunction of two great disasters: one spiritual and the other economic, the first brought about by the triumph of materialism and the second evidenced by the triumph of the machine.

For this reason, to study the depth and solution of the social problem, we must begin by studying the two causes that gave rise to it.

Spiritually, the world was based on the solid principles of the religion of Christ, on charity and love. There was a superior concept of man, based on the immortality of the soul and on considering him as a bearer of eternal values. And when it was not a desire for perfection, it was the fear of punishment in the afterlife that restrained wrongdoing.

Socially, the world was organized with great solidity around the workshop and the guild. The latter was composed indifferently of the apprentice and the master; the former, reduced almost exclusively to the hand and skill of man.

There were no masses of workers nor large enterprises; each workshop consisted of a very small number of workers, and among them, working as one more worker, was the employer.

Skill and intelligence were the only things that marked the social differences of the worker. The worker moved from apprentice to master based on his abilities, and later, if his abilities were even greater, he could set up his own business, as this did not require money but rather his personal worth. Machines were, for the most part, rudimentary and, therefore, cheap. manual skill made up for the rest.

we have all seen the disappearance of the shoemaker’s trade; thirty years ago, there was not a single street without at least a couple of shoemakers. nowadays, we are witnessing the disappearance of the tailor; soon, large stores of ready-made suits will completely banish the custom tailor.

these late disappearances give us an idea of the ancient social structure: a large mass of people (artisans) worked independently, forming together a large industry, but each of them was a small industrialist.

the industries of coppersmiths, basket weavers, embroiderers, etc., like those of shoemakers and tailors we have just mentioned, had a large number of employees, but in small groups, who, being in continuous contact with the employer, were not distant from him and did not form a separate class.

but then came religious indifference (initiated in the 16th century and culminating in the 18th century) and the new philosophy, and those christian principles were neglected by many, and that solid organization disappeared completely.

on one hand, the 18th century, which called itself "the century of lights," became more accurately "the century of darkness." "the genius of christianity," the spirit of good spread by the marvelous doctrine of christ, gradually faded in many minds that closed their eyes to the light, and in them, a new cult, fueled by human pride, completely erased the spiritual cult.

man looked at himself and found himself strong; he saw that everything around him was made by his hands, and he believed himself equal to god, and by believing himself god, he came to want to do without him, to replace the cult of god-man with the cult of man-god, to replace spiritualism with humanism.

kant, voltaire, rousseau were the apostles of this new religion, which consisted only in having no religion, in leaving everything (divine and human) to the judgment of reason, in subordinating the spirit to matter.

on the other hand, the new philosophy began to crush the ancient constitution. the spirit of solidarity was replaced by that of individuality; cooperation by freedom.

apparently, it was only a change of doctrines; but what profound destruction was wrought!

it was as if the foundation of a building had been removed because it was believed that the foundation was unnecessary. it was the era unconscious of the superficial and cheerful life, without depth or truth, the spectacular life of theater decoration. "How the building has improved (said the philosophers of the time) without those heavy walls lacking decorative function." But then came the steam engine, and with its small overload, the entire building collapsed. As if it had found no social foundation or spiritual foundation to rest upon! The artisan was replaced by the enterprise; the workshop by the factory; skill by the machine. No longer was the machine at the service of man, but man at the service of the machine; no longer was man a specialist, but man a number.

Before, machines were simple tools of work and could be bought by the worker himself; later, the new machines were of extremely high cost, and they came to divide man into two groups: those who had enough money to buy them and those who did not. Thus, the machine came to diminish the worker and to enlarge the employer: in a word, to distance them. The machine completely demolished the economic structure, and since, on the other hand, the moral structure was already demolished by materialism, the "great night" began, the "chaos" of Metternich. The social problem, with its three characteristic phenomena:

1. The disappearance of the old order (craftsmanship, guild, harmony).
2. The emergence of the great capitalist or sole producer.
3. The emergence of the wage earner, the man-number, the proletarian.

Indeed; with the disappearance of the small industrialist, the divided property also disappeared, as did the type of worker-friend, who entered as an apprentice and left the workshop only to set up on his own. He who was, more than an apprentice, a brother to the master, and instead of this guild amalgamation, two enormously distant classes emerged: that of the capitalist, who lost all contact with the worker, and that of the wage earner, who lost all hope of becoming a master and setting up on his own.

Naturally, with this lack of brotherhood and hope and that lack of religion and spirituality, great things could not be expected. Two classes had formed, and these two classes neither understood each other socially nor felt the restraint of religion: soon the struggle would come. Materialism pushed man to achieve the maximum possible well-being in this world, and man, therefore, he understood no other mission than to obtain profits. What if this meant enslaving his fellow men? What did it matter? In ancient paganism, was there not also slavery? It is true that Christianity abolished it; but now Christianity was abolished for him. Solid Christian charity had been replaced by hollow pagan fraternity. Without religion, moreover, those at the bottom had no choice but to endure the chains of money, and hatred arose.

At the same time, the factory, which had attracted and given employment to a large number of artisans and former workers, driven by the frenzy of production and profit, installed more advanced machines that required less labor, and the first layoffs came. The dismissed workers could not return to their old employers and their old workshops: all had disappeared, and it was they, on the contrary, who came to the factory seeking work, and unemployment followed.

Then the worker, driven by preaching that fueled his hatred, gathered in large masses and embarked on a relentless war. Soon the first strikes emerged, the first acts of sabotage, the first roars of the approaching storm, and the struggle began.

The social problem had been created. The building had collapsed and needed urgent reconstruction. But how? From its spiritual foundations? No; because it was a time when it was believed that foundations were useless. From superficial materialism? It will be hard to believe, but it was from the surface of materialism that the first two solutions emerged: Nietzsche's individualism and Marx's collectivism.

Man, as we have said before, by believing himself to be God, had sought to do without Him, to solve everything with humanism, without returning to God, and what happened to him was what would happen to a mirror that, by constantly reflecting the image, came to believe it was the image itself and sought to do without it: it became useless! Then he set out to seek solutions; but these solutions he found (liberal and Marxist) also come with the same drawback: they do not see "the whole" social problem; they see nothing more, and incompletely, an economic problem not only compatible but harmonious with the humanism that fascinates him. He still believes that the foundation is unnecessary.

Individualism seeks to save humanism by strengthening the individual so that he can stand upright, creating the superman, something like if, to make the mirror useful, we increased its reflective capacity, or if, to prevent the building without a foundation from collapsing, we increased the baroque of its moldings.

Collectivism seeks to save it by forming a collective of individuals, joining them so that from the union comes the lost strength; gathering, to continue with the previous comparison, many mirrors or many adjoining buildings.

Naturally, neither solution was going to lift man out of the abyss of darkness; but it would lead him to the conviction of materialist impotence.

For the building not to collapse again, for the mirror to reflect the image again, it was necessary for the image to reappear before the mirror. To solve the social problem in its entirety, it was necessary to return to spiritualism, to return to Christianity, to the foundation.

This was to be, in time, the third solution. "But this was not just an economic task; this is a high moral task".

The steam engine created a new social situation, completely revolutionized the world economy, it is true; but if its arrival and the arrival of large-scale industrialism had occurred in a more solid era, if it had coincided with a strong and well-constituted guild, capable of buying the machines and continuing production, and not with a guild dismantled by philosophical humanism, its frenzy would not have dragged society itself.

But it arrived at a time of the greatest spiritual darkness, of the greatest doctrinal fragility, and the world, lacking a moral foundation, was not strong enough to channel such an unexpected eruption.

It was not the machine, therefore, that disrupted the world; it was materialism. Therefore, the economic issue is not the only one that needs to be solved to solve the social problem: it is also the spiritual issue, without which there can be no complete solution.

CHAPTER TWO

LIBERALISM

Economic liberalism is the first solution that materialist theory gave to the social problem. But this solution, which, like all humanism, was born not only from matter but for matter, saw the problem with such a burden of humanism that it neither understood it nor, much less, could solve it.

Indeed; liberalism, as conceived by Rousseau and practiced by his followers, is nothing more than humanism made into law, that is, humanism put into practice and embodied in the laws of each country, humanism with all its denials of the supernatural and all its limitations of the unknown, with all its prejudices and all its errors.

It believes that by denying God, God ceases to exist, and man inherits His infinite power; that by denying faith, there are no longer insurmountable barriers for intelligence, leaving everything within the reach and judgment of human reason; that by denying spiritualism, we turn the spirit into matter and leave everything (divine and human) to the whim of man's will.

In a word: it believes that man becomes "all-powerful," without realizing that to achieve this omnipotence, it has been necessary to remove from his path everything that could be an obstacle to his power, what is above man or beyond man. As a result of this humanistic conception of the superman, liberalism deduces the following two consequences, which are the essence of its program:

First. Since man is "all-powerful," humanity is capable of solving everything on its own; therefore, the State should only intervene to grant man the broadest freedom, as much as he needs to solve the problem he intends (freedom).

Second. Since every man is equally powerful, because his power does not lie in his culture, in his distinct psychology, etc., but in his human dignity, the Government must be of the people without any distinction (democracy).

Let us study it separately. How did liberalism understand freedom? As a "concession" of a "right." Well, freedom cannot be given through concessions or rights, but through limitations and actions. First, because concessions lead to licentiousness, but not to freedom (the "laissez-faire" is more anarchist than liberal), and limitations, on the other hand, prevent the abuse of the powerful and, therefore, guarantee the freedom of the humble, "freedom is what oppresses and the law is what emancipates"(1).

Second, because a right only exists, in a useful way, for those who can exercise it, and liberalism believed that it was enough to grant freedom in theory for everyone to enjoy it, until reality showed that in practice it was only granted to a small part of society, precisely the privileged part

that never lacked it. That is, it did not give more freedom, it gave more right to enjoy it; in other words: more power to the strong.

We "want no individual rights to be proclaimed that can never be fulfilled in the homes of the starving"(2).

Liberalism told man: you are free to think, you are free to write, you are free to speak; and reality replied: but woe to you if you speak, write, or think against the one who pays you!; remember that you are his slave. You own the truth, but the truth is not in you, but in the vote of the majority. You are free, liberalism told him; but you are a slave to that majority, reality replied. You are free to contract, but you will not find work, reality replied, if you do not submit to those above.

What remains, then, of freedom of the press, freedom of suffrage, and freedom of contract? And what of freedom of education, with its imposition of neutral schools, if imposition and freedom are incompatible? And what of the right to religious freedom, if it is nothing more than the right to religious ignorance and there can be no freedom of choice for the ignorant?

Liberalism, blinded by humanism, neither understood the spiritual part of the social problem nor the material part.

The "laissez-faire" is completely false: letting things be, as we have seen, only serves those who can act, and as the ability to act, in the economic sphere, is the exclusive patrimony of the powerful, liberalism, which was born with the intention of solving the social problem, soon became the servant of one of the contenders, the capitalist, to such an extent that today it is difficult to distinguish whether capitalism is a liberal system or liberalism a capitalist system.

Later, we will see Marxism, also a child of humanism, fall by reaction and through the same defects into the service of the other contender. The social problem could hardly be resolved by looking at only one of its sides.

Another of the liberal principles is democracy, the so-called "government of the people by themselves"; "a people cannot govern themselves, just as an army cannot command itself"(3).

But... let the well-meaning democrats be disillusioned (if there are any): it is not the government of the people that is sought, but to govern the people; to take advantage of them for personal ends, for their gain, for their enrichment. How else could it be understood that the liberal party, which is the capitalist party par excellence, the party that despises the people by definition, calls itself democratic, that is, a supporter of the government of the people?

What did the people gain from liberal governance? Did they gain more freedom? No; because freedom was only for the rich. Did they gain more equality? No; because it was liberalism that created the classes. Did they gain more fraternity? No; because it was liberalism that originated the struggle. So if they did not gain more equality, more fraternity, or more freedom, which were the only three principles that liberalism offered the people as an infallible talisman of happiness, what did the people gain in a century and a half of economic liberalism?

Democracy, moreover, openly admits that it governs without knowing whether it governs well or badly; even more: with the awareness that it does so badly. Because the truth being "unique," it seems logical that to always govern well, one need only always follow the path of that truth, and not as democracies do: abandon it to the vote of the majority.

To allow a solution to go from being true to false, depending on whether the majority votes for it or not, is one of two things: either to mock the truth, putting it in doubt (if it is known and left to a vote), in which case there is no dignity, or not to know the truth, in which case the noblest thing would be to renounce the government of the country so that others who know it can take the reins.

Liberals are enemies of dictatorships. But..., is there a greater dictatorship than the democratic one? Democracy is the suffrage of the majority. The majority is "one more." Therefore, everything, absolutely everything, depends on that "one more."

Moreover, is there anything more monstrous? Because in dictatorships, the will of one person governs, but that person has risen to the top due to their indisputable personal merits; but in democracies, the decisive vote, that is, the dictatorship, can belong to the most obscure of citizens, the most useless of them all. In dictatorships, finally, the will of the dictator is backed by a large mass of supporters; in democracies, the "dictator vote" can be an isolated will.

Democracy says: "one man, one vote"; but how can the equality of the vote be conceived without first achieving equality of intelligence? Is it not absurd that for a financial matter, the director of a bank has the same vote as a tram driver? When has it been seen that to cure a patient, we call an engineer, and their vote is worth the same as that of a doctor?

And if we move to the realm of political representation, is it not absurd that the worker votes for the lawyer and the merchant for the farmer, without the farmer or the lawyer feeling the slightest bonds of shared interest with the worker and the merchant, but only the political bonds of the same "so-and-so-ism"? Would it not be more logical that there be no politics other than one: that of the Homeland; and no representation other than one: the syndical, in which the worker represents the worker, the merchant the merchant, the lawyer the lawyer, and the farmer the farmer?

"Nineteenth-century political liberalism created 'the citizen,' an individual detached from family, class, profession, cultural environment, and economic grouping, and gave them the optional right to intervene in the constitution of the State, and in this placed the source of national sovereignty.

"How poorly sovereignty would fare on this chimerical foundation!

"The 'pompous' citizen of liberalism, isolated from their natural living environment, was reduced to a mere vote, entirely ineffective unless allied with other votes. Liberalism had 'liberated' the citizen from their natural relationships (family, parish, municipality, professional guild) and forced them to pigeonhole themselves into some other grouping that would lend them the effectiveness of numbers.

» Thus was born the political party.

» From then on, elections, and consequently legislative dreams and the constitutions of nations, emerged from the citizen dislodged from their natural environment and artificially fitted into the political party.

» It is no wonder, then, that the constitutions were unnatural, since their origin was unnatural. The political party has been, in contemporary history, the synthesis of all unconfessable lusts and all absurdities. For political convenience, numerous engineers in Spain have voted for the ruin of highly useful hydrological confederations; for political convenience, many landowners have shown themselves in favor of absurd agrarian reforms and unnecessary and unpatriotic wheat imports"(4).

In summary: liberalism found only two solutions to the social problem: freedom and democracy. With freedom, it did nothing more than align itself with the powerful and transform into capitalism. With democracy, it did nothing more than align itself with politics and transform into parliamentarianism, into charlatanism.

Meanwhile, the social problem did not receive a single attempt at a true solution.

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(1) P. Lacordaire.
(2) José Antonio. Rally at the Comedia Theater, December 29, 1933.
(3) Oswald Spengler: Decisive Years.
(4) Domingo de Arrese: Corporative State.

CHAPTER THREE

MARXISM

Marxism is the second solution of materialism. It is born from liberalism and fights against it; but it does not oppose it at its core. It is "the ungrateful child of liberal economics"(1), or, as Vermeersch says(2), "it is nothing more than liberalism for the use of the people."

Indeed; Marxism is materialist like liberalism; it has as its motto "liberty, equality, and fraternity," like liberalism, and even its collectivism is akin to liberal individualism.

This may seem like a contradiction, but if socialism seeks "the happiness of the collective" and liberalism "the happiness of the individual," what difference is there between one happiness and the other? The collective, as such, is not sentient (and therefore, incapable of feeling that happiness); it is only sentient as a group of sensitive individuals. That is, when speaking of well-being (the goal pursued by both liberalism and socialism), we must necessarily refer to the individual, "the self of each of us"(3), as the only element capable of enjoying it.

This, moreover, is not a new theory. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of English socialism and president of the Council, says: "I am interested in emphasizing the fact that individualism and socialism do not represent opposing tendencies"(4).

"Modern socialism is the twin and similar brother of Manchester liberalism; their disputes are family quarrels, and for this reason, sometimes bitter. From the point of view of the logic of ideas, a liberal can almost say that the contemporary socialism is an individualism that has gone bad"(5).

Of the same opinion, more or less implicitly, are Johannet, for whom the history of socialism is not autonomous but a partial aspect of capitalism(6), Struve, Rist, and even Proudhon and Marx themselves.

It is a mistake, therefore, to believe that socialism is the antithesis of liberalism.

Socialism is simply a reaction against liberalism, and a reaction not of principles but of classes; it does not mind that there is money, but that this money is not in its hands; it does not mind dictatorship, but that this dictatorship is not proletarian; it fights against capitalism, but not to abolish it, but to replace it with that of "the lower class"(7).

Humanity, intoxicated by humanism, created liberalism as a saving doctrine, and when it saw that liberalism failed, it did not occur to it for a moment that what was failing was the foundation, but the form, and it modified this form based on the same humanist foundation: it created socialism.

That is why socialism, which, as we have said, does not oppose liberalism, and we could even say it uses it and employs its same principles, falls into the same errors.

Indeed: liberalism says "government by the majority," and socialism replies: then why are we governed by the plutocracy?; the majority is in the proletariat, so the government must be of the proletariat. It does not occur to either of them that the government should be of the best.

Liberalism says: "equality"; and socialism replies: then why did you create classes?; let us eliminate that inequality by exterminating the bourgeois class. Without realizing that true equality consists not in exterminating some, but in making the differences that separate them disappear, equalizing everyone in rights and obligations.

Liberalism says: "universal fraternity"; and socialism replies: then why do you have borders?; let us erase them and create internationalism.

Liberalism says: "freedom"; and socialism replies: "but not for you, as you have understood it until now, but for us"(8).

Socialism, on the other hand, has for some a deceptive advantage over liberalism. It is true, they say, that it falls into the same errors, the same arbitrariness; but at least those errors and arbitrariness are for the benefit of the weak, the humble, the needy, instead of being, as in liberalism, for the benefit of the powerful. Marxism is capitalism in reverse, but at least it is in reverse; all capitalism is bad, but the worst of all is the one that aids the victor.

There is no doubt that this characteristic of Marxism is the only reason for its existence; otherwise, it would have been nothing more than another facet of liberalism.

There is no doubt that, materialism for materialism, the materialism of the Marxists is more dashing; but life is not only matter: life is the union of soul and body. Marxism has attended to the body but has dried up the soul; while raising wages, reducing working hours, and humanizing labor, it proclaimed free love, banished the crucifix from schools, and erased the concept of the Homeland.

This has indeed been the great error of Marxism. If its program had been limited to proletarian demands, no matter how extensive and radical within justice, it would not have been worth fighting against. The economic program of national syndicalism is no less radical or extensive, although it is more just.

"If the socialist revolution were nothing more than the establishment of a new economic order, we would not be frightened.

"What happens is that the socialist revolution is something much deeper. It is the triumph of a materialist sense of life and history; it is the violent substitution of religion by irreligiosity; it is the substitution of the Homeland by a closed and resentful class...; it is the substitution of individual freedom by the forced subjection of a state that not only regulates our work like an anthill but also relentlessly regulates our rest.

"It is all this. It is the tempestuous avenue of an order destructive of Western and Christian civilization; it is the signal of the closure of a civilization that we, educated in its essential values, refuse to consider obsolete"(9).

Because to say that "the family exists only for the bourgeoisie" and that "woman is nothing more than an instrument of production"(10) and, therefore, of wealth, to declare her collectivizable as such wealth and to proclaim free love. To say that the origin of "primitive accumulation" is "armed robbery"(11), only to end up demanding "the abolition of private property"(12), instead of demanding the abolition of that armed robbery.

To say that "workers have no homeland"(13) and that "religion is the opium of the people," and to demand, in the name of internationalism and atheism, the most fanatical struggle the centuries have known, as if fanaticism and struggle were not already a resolute affirmation, is to be guided by the deviation of hatred and misanthropy.

Man has the right to a religion, a homeland, a family, and property, which are common heritage and unshakable principles of life.

"If I were a dog and someone stepped on me, I would bite," one of them has said(14). Well then; in this phrase, we can study the social problem.

Man had been robbed of what was most noble, most elevated, what characterized him as a man and distinguished him from the beast: spiritual sensitivity. That is, he had been turned into a dog, and then, once brutalized by the crudest materialism, he had been humiliated, thrown from his craft into the gutter of misery.

In a word: he had been trampled. Who could be surprised that the revolution erupted? Who would be surprised that the dog bit?

Liberalism turned the worker into a dog and money into a master. Marxism made the dog turn against the master who trampled him. But the problem remained to be solved.

Marxism was the reaction against social injustice, but it did nothing to lift the worker out of the abyss of matter; it was content to inject him with hatred, to make him bite the rich, to make him destroy them; but it did not care to make him a man again.

In other words: Marxism made the dog become the master of the street and made capital pass into its jaws and disintegrate under its bites; but it did not make it stop being a dog.

The solution to the problem lies neither in biting the capitalist, as Marxism wants, nor in muzzling, as liberal capitalism wants.

The solution lies in making the dog a man again, "in restoring him at some point to his condition as a man(15)", and ensuring that no one mistreats the worker again.

That is, in restoring spiritualism and social justice.

(1) Valois: New Economy.
(2) Constitutions Concerning Justice.
(3) R. Gonnard: History of Economic Doctrines.
(4) Socialism and Society.
(5) R. Gonnard: Individualism, Socialism, Traditionalism. ("Review
(6) Universal Review. January 1, 1922.
(7) Oswald Spengler: Decisive Candles.
(8) Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.
(9) José Antonio. Rally at the Europa Cinema, February 2, 1936.
(10) Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels. [Corrected "Manifiasto" to "Manifesto"]
(11) Capital, Marx.
(12) Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.
(13) Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.
(14) Bartrina.
(15) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Rally at the Europa Cinema, February 2, 1936. [Corrected name spelling and "Mitiu" to "Rally"]

CHAPTER FOUR

NATIONAL SYNDICALISM

The third solution to the social problem is the spiritual solution. Note well that we do not say fascist, although people say it. Fascism has been the spiritualist solution of a nation, the first if you will; but fascism is not a universal solution, but rather the Italian adaptation of that solution.

We, who are Spanish, cannot be fascists, and we cannot be so precisely because of its very essence. Could we be both national and fascist? Spanish and Italian? We will, indeed, have points of contact; but the Roman salute, the shirt, etc., are simply tributes of sympathy to an older brother, but they are form, not essence, of the movement, and the people who, seeing shirts and castor oil in us, believe that we are fascists, neither know what fascism is nor understand national syndicalism. It is as if they believed that because two cities have streets with the same name, they must be the same city.

Fascism, National Socialism, and National Syndicalism are children of the same mother: spiritualism; therefore, brothers, and twin brothers if you will, not Siamese twins.

That is why, and precisely because the characteristic of this third global solution is its national particularism, we will henceforth refer to the Spanish facet of spiritualism. Exclusively to National Syndicalism.

National Syndicalism is "as far from falsely egalitarian and resentful communism as it is from anonymous and exploitative capitalism" (1).

It does not accept liberal democracy because it believes it is in possession of the truth, and since this truth is one, it cannot allow it to be, as Rousseau preached, what emerges from universal suffrage. "Democracy ignores the truth, and therefore abandons its discovery to the majority's vote" (2).

But it also does not accept the class-based democracy of Marxism, which is more cruel and resentful than the former. Unity is one of the tenets of National Syndicalism.

It does not accept capitalist privilege; but neither does it accept proletarian privilege.

It does not accept the carefree and unconscious life of liberalism; but neither does it accept the hatred of Marxist life.

The new movement proclaims three great tasks to be accomplished:

- Spiritualize life (spiritualism).

- Hispanicize Spain (nationalism).

- Implement justice (syndicalism).

Although in this book we will focus only on this third task, it will not be without first dedicating a chapter to briefly outline the ideas of the previous points.

The era of National Syndicalism will not be that of materialism, nor the prosaic era of the stew; it will be the era of spiritualism, the chivalrous awakening of human dignity. Marx's historical materialism makes the axis of life the economic problem and everything else (religion, law, science, politics, morality, etc.) a kind of "epiphenomena superimposed on the economic phenomenon" (3) or "reverberations of economic relations in the minds of men" (4).

National Syndicalism will not diminish life, nor will it place everything, absolutely everything, at the service of the stomach. Materialists, by placing the economic problem in the foreground, come to believe it greater than the whole of life.

Indeed, when one places a hand close to the eyes, it can block the entire view; but does that make the view smaller than the hand?

But we have already seen that when speaking of materialism, we cannot refer only to Marxism, as liberalism is equally materialistic.

"To only consider interests is, of course, to give a materialistic sense to history, to be Marxist. Moreover, Marxism, for the poor class, for the worker, and for the humble, has a reason to exist. Marxism opens a hope and a path for these men. Marxism will kill all the good things in their souls; but it opens a path for them. 'More criminal is the Marxism of the rich'" (5).

The second task of the new movement will be to Hispanicize Spain; first awakening the Homeland and the people and then creating an empire with that Homeland and that people.

All nations had lost patriotic fervor in the last two centuries; but Spain more than any other: Spain had ceased to be.

Those principles of nobility, old Castilianism, pride, and patriotism crumbled, first slowly and then torrentially, like in a thaw; the immaculate peaks are first stained by the puddles left by the footsteps of beasts.

In Spain, the beasts were the first powdered wigs, the first frock coats, the first intellectuals of philosophy and the encyclopedia, the first dandies, who learned everything in Paris and brought to Spain, under the guise of elegance, all the vicious and corrupt aspects of French Voltairianism.

When the mayor of Móstoles declared war on Napoleon (an exact equivalence of a Spanish mayor with a foreign emperor), he not only wanted to expel the imperial troops but also to shake off the spiritual slavery in which we found ourselves. But once again, the shortsighted intellectuality of anti-French courts, though Frenchified (6), withered the resurgence of Spain by not understanding the uprising of the Second of May. That feat was not a popular desire for war, but for revolution, and that is why what began as the War of Independence ended up being a failed independence.

The Spanish people did not rise up only to reclaim the territory of Spain; they also rose up to reclaim the soul of Spain.

But there is something even sadder, and that is that this people who had managed to remain Spanish, this people who fought heroically against everything foreign, also ended up surrendering to the foreign.

Liberalism took half of Spain from us, and Marxism took the other half. Therefore, we must undertake the double task of rescuing Spain and the people.

Now, before proceeding further, allow us to make a very important clarification. Liberals, Marxists, and we ourselves speak of the people, and someone might ask: do the three of us have the same concept of the people?

For liberals, the people are the group of inhabitants living in a nation at a given moment. It is, simply, the number of inhabitants per square kilometer.

For Marxists (7), the people are much less: they are the mass of a group, a party, a class.

For us, the people are much more: they are the historical continuation and the totality of past, present, and future generations. For us, the people have a tradition and a future; they are not suspended in a void. And from this different conception arises a different way of governing.

Liberals are only interested in the present people, the current generation, and therefore, they do not conceive of the immutable; for them, there are no eternal truths.

"Jean-Jacques Rousseau came to tell us that justice and truth were not permanent categories of reason, but were at each instant decisions of will" (8), and they founded universal suffrage, the dictatorship of suffrage.

"That farce of ballots entered into a glass urn that had the virtue of telling us at each moment whether God existed or did not exist, whether the truth was true or not true, whether the homeland should remain or if it was better for it to commit suicide at some point" (9).

Marxists are only interested in the group, the party, the class, and they establish the dictatorship of the proletariat: "We have never promised that our constitution would guarantee freedom and equality in general. As for freedom, it must be specified to which class and to which ends it is

reserved. As for equality, for whom should it be but for the workers? This, and nothing else, is affirmed in the constitution: the dictatorship of the workers and peasants" (10).

"The people, that is, the proletarians and the peasants" (11).

For us, on the other hand, "a people is not a simultaneous social whole, but a successive social whole" (12), as Mella said, and therefore, we are not interested in the variable, but in the immutable; we do not govern for today, but forever; we drink from tradition and look to the horizon; our fundamental principles do not arise from the whim of the will, but from eternal truths, which were, are, and will be.

That is why, when Saint Augustine says: "Love your neighbor, and more than your neighbor, love your parents, and more than your parents, love your homeland, and more than your homeland, love your God" (13), we, fifteen centuries later, continue to repeat the same scale of loves: God, Spain, family, and union.

But there is more, and it is that due to this sense of historical permanence and mission fullness, national-syndicalism cannot admit fleeting solutions to constantly latent problems nor partial solutions to universal problems; that is, national-syndicalism is imperial.

Liberalism, in its usual euphoria, will believe it can make black white and white black during a legislative term: Marxism, with its grim misanthropy, will want, in addition, to make the solutions for a group.

But the error lies in the hybrid and petty way of conceiving the greatness of the people, seeking a momentary solution in what is not momentary (liberalism) and a partial solution in what is not partial (Marxism). The people are more: the people are the extension of the total and the length of the permanent.

And these two dimensions of space and time that neither one nor the other see; these two dimensions that determine the volume of our doctrine, which make us reject the hybrid and hospice-like people (without father or children) of the liberals and the amputated and resentful people of the Marxists, are the two dimensions that make us see the permanent people (with heritage and heirs) and broad (with room for all).

That is, the imperial people.

And one last clarification, albeit very brief, on two points as distinct as Religion and Monarchy.

Spain, and let this be clear to those who wear the blue shirt but hide the red one, Spain will be nothing if it is not Catholic. Spain was only great when it had a great religious spirit. Those who speak of a neutral Spain, of the Homeland above all, of a Church without clergy, are neither Falangists nor do they know what they are saying.

In our early days, a group of ambitious individuals called us pantheists, and José Antonio replied to them: "When the world falls apart, it cannot be fixed with technical patches; it needs a whole new order. And this order must start again from the individual. Let those who accuse us of professing state pantheism hear this: we consider the individual as the fundamental unit, and this is the meaning of Spain, which has always considered man as the spokesperson of eternal values. Man must be free; but there is no freedom except within an order" (14).

We have enemies in all social orders who exploit and will exploit our supposed irreligiosity.

Well then; here is the firm affirmation, not from an old Falangist, not from a former leader of the Falange, but from the entire and unanimous Falange: to say Falangist Spain is the same as saying Catholic Spain.

Another accusation made against us is that we are anti-monarchist because we are not interested in the form of government. It is not that we are not interested in the form, but that we are more interested in the substance of government. We want first to make a Spain and then, on that Spain, and if it suits Spain, raise a throne and place a king on that throne. The one that suits Spain.

What we do not want is to raise a throne without having the pedestal of Spain, and much less to crown a king without having raised a throne. Moreover: our king should not be the lord of some states, but the first servant of those states.

Our empire, finally, should not be made by the conquest of arms, but by the union of hearts; not by the disappearance of geographical borders, but by the disappearance of spiritual borders.

And then, when the coasts of the Atlantic become sisters again; when on this side and the other there are only hearts that beat in unison; when the trade winds are the messengers of our loves and our concerns, then we can truly speak of the "Mare Nostrum"; but not of the Mediterranean "Mare Nostrum," but of the other, the truly "Nostrum," the one that is ours because with three dream caravels we took possession of it; because in it we wrote our history with the prows of our galleons; because over it one day, as once again today, we broke a world's discouragement with a splendid dawn, a "finis terrae" with a "plus ultra."

But enough of the first two points and let us move on to the third, that of implementing justice; or rather, let us begin our book, since until now we have only expounded the doctrines in question.

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(1) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Meeting at Cine Madrid, November 17, 1935.
(2) Nicolás Berdiaev: A New Middle Ages.
(3) Enrique Ferri.
(4) P. Cathreinu: Socialismus.
(5) Julio Ruiz de Alda. Meeting at Cine Europa, February 2, 1936.

(6) "Two dozen rogues (as Father Alvarado calls them in his tenth letter of the Philosofo Rancio), who, belonging to Napoleon, did not wish to stay with him, or staying with him, have come to intrigue as his agents among us."
(7) Karl Marx, a Jew, and therefore hungry for power and filled with hatred against Christian Civilization, felt no love for the people ('rabble' Engels calls them in his letter to Marx dated May 9, 1851, and 'riffraff' in the letter of December 11 of the same year); but he used them to satisfy his aims. Friedrich Lenz, in his work The State and Marxism, exposes these motives and demonstrates how Marx was on the verge of abandoning his industrial communist theory for a peasant one that would more easily elevate him.
(8) José Antonio. Meeting at La Comedia, October 29, 1933.
(9) José Antonio. Meeting at La Comedia, October 29, 1933.
(10) Lenin, at the VII Congress of the Soviets, December 5, 1919.
(11) Lenin: Two Tactics, 1905.
(12) Literally transcribed from a quote by Salvador Mingujón in his book At the Service of Tradition, but the original phrase, repeated twice by Mella, is slightly different, as can be seen in his Parliamentary Speeches, Volume I, page 12, and in his lecture on May 17, 1913, at the Academy of Jurisprudence.
(13) De libero arbitrio.
(14) José Antonio. Meeting in Valladolid, March 13, 1935.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL PROGRAM OF NATIONAL SYNDICALISM

We will present the social program of national-syndicalism throughout these pages, and to better follow it, we will begin with a chapter outline.

The social problem, in its economic aspect, revolves around a single fact: the production of wealth.

That is why national-syndicalism carries out its revolution in two ways, one corresponding to wealth and the other to production:

1. Establishing justice in the three branches of "wealth," that is, in labor (the factor of wealth), in property (the domain of wealth), and in capital (wealth intended to produce).
2. Establishing harmony among the three elements of "production": the entrepreneur, the technician, and the worker.

Our book, therefore, will follow the following outline:

- Social Revolution….
  - Justice……..
    - Labor (wages). Points 15 and 16, chapters 6 to 11.
    - Property (rent). Points 12 and 13, chapters 12 to 14.
    - Capital (interest). Points 10 and 14, chapters 15 to 18.
  - Harmony……..
    - Syndicalism. Points 9 and 11, chapters 19 to 25.

Now, many believe that our program is based on entirely new principles.
Not at all. We do want to bring about a social revolution; but to revolutionize is not only to "create," it is also to "return" to the truth when that truth has been lost. We could create a justice if it had never existed before or if there could be several different kinds.

But the world was born with laws of unshakable justice; what happened was that around those laws, the greed and cunning of men piled up unjust privileges, until that social justice became completely distorted by such privileges, to the point that only through a great sense of irony could we continue to call the current economic situation of the world just. Moreover, justice, like truth, is unique; therefore, we cannot create a new one, but simply strip it bare, remove the unjust privileges, and return to its original form. That is, to carry out the intended reform, we must first thoroughly understand the origin and essence of those eternal principles.

Well, that is what national-syndicalism has also done. To eliminate what has been added to the primitive spirit of justice, it first seeks to understand that spirit and then, by comparing it with the current spirit, separates the substantial and unshakable from the degenerate and added. Our program, therefore, if it is new, is so because it is purely ancient and forgotten. Furthermore, we do not seek novelties; if our revolution were about novelties, it would not be definitive. Novelties have the drawback of quickly fading. New principles age; on the other hand, unshakable principles are eternal.

No, our program is not new (what is immutable is never new, but neither is it old), and we confess this candidly. Like Bottom, the simple carpenter from Shakespeare, we step onto the stage before dressing in our program to tell the world that our principles are the same as always and that our garments are simply the adaptation of those principles to the advancing civilization and the new problems of life. We step out to say that we are simply Bottom.

Let us begin, then, after these preliminary clarifications, the chapter outline we proposed, following the chart above. Labor (the application of human effort to the production of wealth).—When the first man was cast out of paradise with the divine obligation to work, he came naked and without any privileges. He did not find a populated world with its civilization in progress so that he could believe he was born invited to life, nor was he born a child, but a man, so that he would have no excuses for a lack of strength. Labor, therefore, was the only thing given to him, and with it alone he began his life.

Today we do not feel the urgent need for the indispensable. We are born into a civilization in progress and find the paths of life open. But is this reason enough for us to believe we are invited to that life? To believe we have the right to the labor of others? Who has given us that right? Who has redeemed us from the divine mandate? Do we not continue to be born naked and without privileges?

It was not man who obligated himself to work, but God; therefore, it is not man who can redeem himself from work, but God, and God has not given the men of today privileges that the men of yesterday did not have. Therefore, we continue to have the obligation to work.

But every obligation implies the right to fulfill it: the obligation to live brought with it the right to life, and the right to life and the obligation to work, the right to work as the only legitimate means to provide us with what is necessary for that life and to fulfill our obligation.

This right was not claimed until there were more workers than work. Then, unemployment posed a problem: does the State have an obligation (a strict obligation, not an obligation of convenience) to absorb unemployment?

It is sad to say; but this right to work, so Christian and so primitive, was not recognized until the French constitution of 1848, and not as a Christian and primitive principle, but as a revolutionary triumph.

Thus, the world was so forgetful that it called the oldest and most fundamental principles new and revolutionary.

National-syndicalism condenses the obligation and the right to work into the following points:
Point 15: "All Spaniards have the right to work. Public entities will necessarily support those who are in forced unemployment. Until the new total structure is achieved, we will maintain and intensify all the benefits provided to the worker by current social laws."
Point 16: "All unimpaired Spaniards have the duty to work. The National-syndicalist State will not show the slightest consideration to those who do not fulfill any function and aspire to live as guests at the expense of the effort of others."

Property.—From the right to life also arises the right to property. Indeed: the first man, needing to eat, sought what could serve as his food and took it, that is, appropriated it. Then he saved what was left for another day, for winter, for other years, and finally, for his children; that is, he was creating the various stages of property.

After the first man came the others. All had the right to life, so all had to respect what had been appropriated by those before them, but they also had the right to appropriate in turn what they needed.

But with the multiplication of men came the moment when there was nothing left to appropriate. Then men, who had already forgotten that everyone had the right to life, allowed some to have more than enough while others starved. They did not want to remember that property was not born with a label of ownership, but with a dual individual and social mission to fulfill.

National-syndicalism dedicates the following points to property:

Point 12: "The primary purpose of wealth (and thus our State will affirm) is to improve the living conditions of all who make up the people. It is intolerable that vast masses live in misery while a few enjoy all luxuries."

Point 13: "The State will recognize private property as a legitimate means to fulfill individual, family, and social purposes, and will protect it against the abuses of large financial capital, speculators, and moneylenders."

CAPITAL.—It is the accumulation of wealth, destined to produce.

In the beginning, it was tools, land, and livestock (capital comes from caput, meaning head of livestock) that constituted capital, and each fulfilled its function exactly. But little by little, with various inventions, man diverted it from its primitive function and created capitalism.

For example, industrial capital. In the 18th century, the machine was invented. At first, the tools of transformation had almost no value, and industrial capital fulfilled its mission without difficulty. The shoemaker's last served the shoemaker, the carpenter's saw served the carpenter, the woodcutter's axe, etc.

But the machine was extremely costly, and man discovered a way to live without working, speculating with it. He founded anonymous companies, bought machines, and instead of lending

them to the worker to continue producing as before, he also bought the man's labor through wages and became the master, that is, he created industrial capitalism.

Another example is financial capital. Money was born simply as an element of exchange. Initially, exchange was done directly, product for product; but soon the need arose to create a currency: "an intermediate commodity that serves to facilitate exchanges" (1). After successive modifications, money was created, backed by the authority of the State; that is, minted money.

Then, money was born solely and exclusively as an element of exchange. But man, quickly forgetting its origin, saw in it another way to live without working: lending to those who do not have it. And the power of money was created, the dictatorship of gold, the Bank, that is, anonymous and exploitative financial capitalism, and from an element of exchange, it became an element of profit and dominion with which to live without working and enslave the masses.

A third example we have in agrarian capital. At first, the lord was the direct or indirect farmer of his own lands. This form was not only the patriarchal one of the Old Testament but also the one that, with various adaptations, reached our grandparents.

For them, their home was the estate, where there were no masters or tenants, but father and children; where he looked after them and they looked after the estate as if it were their own; where in the evening they all prayed the Holy Rosary together, that very Spanish prayer, a reminder of two great memories of our history: Santo Domingo and Lepanto.

Later, the cities began to destroy this patriarchal life. The lord moved to the city and gradually forgot about the countryside; when he went, it was no longer to see his lands, to learn about the needs of each one, but to hunt, to have fun; he no longer went with his family, but with his city friends, and what was worse, with the vices of the city.

They danced, they drank, and at night they no longer gathered in the wide hallway of the house to pray the Holy Rosario. They no longer shared the same concerns nor knew of their sorrows or needs, nor was it the handkerchief of tears anymore. The tenants also changed with this abandonment: the old ones, murmuring with nostalgia; the young ones, with hatred.

The lands were no longer a source of production (agrarian capital), but of profit (agrarian capitalism). It no longer mattered if the lands produced wheat or oil, but how much money they yielded.

National-syndicalism will not allow capital to fall into capitalism, and dedicates the following points to this:

Point 10: "We reject the capitalist system, which disregards the needs of the people, dehumanizes private property, and gathers workers into shapeless masses prone to misery and despair. Our spiritual and national sense also rejects Marxism. We will guide the momentum of the working classes, currently derailed by Marxism, towards demanding their direct participation in the great task of the national state."

Point 14: "We advocate for the tendency towards the nationalization of banking services, and through corporations, of major public services."

The second part of our program refers to harmony. Initially, harmony among the producing elements was complete; the cold and stark wages of today, which divide producers, were unknown, and a guild organization prevailed among them where no one exploited others, but all worked together for the common task of production. Later, capitalism on one side and Marxism on the other, worked to divorce and even present them as antagonists, forming social classes.

National-syndicalism does not accept the current situation. It assumes that producers do not come together to fight each other, but to produce, and organizes them not as fighters in opposing camps, but as producers in the same camp. National-syndicalism erases all forms of abuse, exploitation, and resentment, and returns to the primitive harmony between the employer, the technician, and the worker: to the guild, to the union.

Point 9: "We conceive of Spain economically as a giant union of producers. We will organize Spanish society corporatively through a system of vertical unions by branches of production, serving national integrity."

Point 11: "The National-syndicalist State will not cruelly abstain from economic struggles among men nor will it impassively witness the domination of the weaker class by the stronger. Our regime will make class struggle radically impossible, as all those who cooperate in production constitute an organic whole within it. We condemn and will prevent at all costs the abuses of one partial interest over another and the anarchy in the labor regime."

We have, therefore, marked the path of our social revolution. Let us create a system based on the four fundamental principles outlined, a system not of classes, not of capitalists or proletarians, but of producers. Let us create a system in which work is an obligation and a right for all, in which property is protected and respected as it deserves, but fulfilling its dual social and individual mission; in which capital is a source of production, but not of profit; in which employers, technicians, and workers are, in proportion to each one's effort, the sole participants in the produced benefits, without hatred, without classes, and we will have made the true social revolution. Justice and harmony: that is our program.

Marxism opposed liberal privilege with Marxist privilege; liberal injustice with Marxist injustice. It continued to exploit the great lie of demagogy. We are repulsed by that frivolous lie of privilege and injustice, and we are repulsed because we know that there can be no peace, no harmony if they are not based on truth and strict justice. Because we know that privilege and injustice create suspicious inequality and latent war between those above, who strive to maintain their positions, and those below, who struggle to attain them. We erase the word privilege from the dic-

tionary. We will give the worker, the technician, and the employer everything, absolutely everything that is just; but not an iota more than what is just. And we say this now, when an easy promise could win us the frenzy of the masses. But we do not want to deceive: the worker is not a toy, the worker is worthy of being treated as a man, face to face; and face to face, man to man, one does not lie. Worker, employer, technician, from now on we tell you: do not go forward if you expect to find in our lines a right that does not correspond to you, a stance that is not just, an inequality that favors you.

And a final note: the reader of these pages will miss an in-depth study of the agrarian problem. National-syndicalism dedicates six of its most intense initial points and much of its best literature to the land. We, given the enormous importance of such a transcendental problem (the most important in Spain), believe that it deserves a separate study, and for it, we leave the analysis of the agrarian revolution. In these lines, without completely losing sight of the peasant issue, we will speak almost exclusively about the industrial social problem.

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(1) Aristotle: Politics.

PART TWO

SOCIAL JUSTICE

CHAPTER SIX

LABOR

Work in National Syndicalism is born with its four main characteristics:

1. Obligation to work.

2. Right to work.

3. Dignity of work.

4. Plurality of jobs.

OBLIGATION.—Work is obligatory because it is not subordinated to our material needs, but to our nature as created beings; we have it not because we were born poor, but because we were born guilty. When man left the paradise of rest for the world of work (I refer to arduous work), even if he had not needed to eat, he had forever left the state of rest and had forever entered the state of work.

What happened is that he did not feel the need to work until he felt the need to eat, and that is why those born into well-being believe they are without that obligation.

But the need to work is not the essence, but the consequence of the obligation. Work was not created because there were needs, but the needs reminded us of the obligation to work.

Therefore, not feeling this reminder does not mean not having that obligation.

In life, we have to work, just as in water we have to float to live, not only because we want to preserve life, but because, whether we want to or not, it is the law of water and life not to support man.

If it were only to preserve life, those who could preserve it without working would be redeemed from work, and that is not the case.

It is true that in life, as in water, we have built ships that we call wealth, and the security of these ships has made us forget the law of work; but wealth, like ships, is not made to live in as eternal passengers, but to float more easily. Wealth, like ships, gives us the right to choose our place of work; but not the privilege of living without floating. Without them, we would have to float by

swimming; with them, we can float by piloting, steering, etc.; but with or without them, we have to live floating.

It is not that there are no passengers on ships; but being a passenger is a transitory form, as in life we are when we are children or disabled, and making this transitory form a definitive occupation is not fair, and therefore we cannot allow it.

Thus, work remains obligatory for everyone. "We must impose work; we must end all parasites" (1).

National Syndicalism recognizes this obligation in one of its points: "All unimpaired Spaniards have the duty to work. The National-Syndicalist State will not show the slightest consideration to those who do not fulfill any function and aspire to live as guests at the expense of others' efforts" (2).

RIGHT.—Work is also a right. Man has the right to life; therefore, he has the right to work, which is the natural means to sustain that life. The State, therefore, as the protector of man's rights, has the obligation to ensure not only that everyone works, but that everyone has work.

Moreover: it has the obligation to (when there is no work to provide) support the unemployed, although, of course, unemployment subsidy is the worst of all solutions, as we will see in the chapter on worker unemployment.

"All Spaniards have the right to work. Public entities will necessarily support those who are in forced unemployment" (3).

DIGNITY.—The dignity of work lies in its spiritual origin.

It was not created due to the physiological needs of the stomach, but because of the soul that sinned. Work is an expiation; expiating a sin is not degrading; lacking the courage to expiate it, is.

Only Christianity has had this perfect vision of the dignity of work. Among the Greeks and Romans, for the ignorant and the philosophers, work was degrading; only the priesthood and the military were noble professions.

For Marxism, fiercely materialistic, work has a merely productive, merely economic function; there is nothing elevated in it: it is a slavery, and a slavery so harsh that to gild it, they worship it. Like some African tribes worship crocodiles so they won't harm them.

For National Syndicalism, as for Christian civilization, work does not have a purely utilitarian end; the worker is not simply an instrument of production; that would diminish man, placing him at the service of money. The worker is much more; but not because he is a worker, but because he is a man.

"Let us not fall into proletarian idolatry or the cowardice of saying that the worker, by being one, is a paragon of virtues.

"There are good and bad ones. They have the vices and virtues of other mortals. Therefore, neither adore them as gods nor treat them as beasts. Let us see in them men like us, our equals, with the same rights and the same obligations" (4).

We must bring poetry back to life and work; but not by deifying matter, but by making man regain consciousness of his dignity and the dignity of work; making him consider himself superior to production and with higher purposes; making him know again that he has a soul "susceptible of being saved or condemned" (5), and that the dignity and importance of work lie in being an attribute of that soul, not in being a factor of material production or stomach provision.

PLURALITY OF JOBS

Finally, it is also a basic principle of National Syndicalism the plurality of jobs based on the plurality of aptitudes and vocations.

For Marxism, there is no work other than physical work, as there is no form of life other than the material; it does not conceive of the work of the spirit, as it does not recognize the existence of the soul, except by vivifying matter.

Moreover: Marxism only calls workers those who use their muscles in the service of production, and it calls the employer (humble most of the time and an tireless worker almost always) a capitalist and exploiter of others' labor. Even the technician is a bourgeois of production. For Marxism, the word worker is a recruiting banner. For National Syndicalism, in which everyone, absolutely everyone, will be workers, the word worker will lack exclusivist meaning. Those in Spain who do not work will not be capitalists, nor bourgeois, nor rentiers, nor court idlers, but vagrants, parasites, and with them, we will not form, as Marxism does, the fauna of the privileged, but the clientele of the vagrancy law.

There will be professional hierarchies because there are qualities of work; but there will be no hierarchies of workers and non-workers, hierarchies of those who work and those who live off others' labor. Worker, in National Syndicalism, is not synonymous with manual laborer. Worker is anyone who performs positive labor for the community. We will not say that "Spain is a Republic of workers" (6) (there was never less work in Spain than then); but our National Syndicalist Spain will be a huge and unique hive from which anyone who does not fulfill a specific function will be expelled, and in which there will be many functions to perform.

"We want everyone to feel like members of a serious and complete community. That is, the functions to be performed are many. Some with manual labor, others with that of the spirit, some with a mastery of customs and refinements; but in a community such as the one we desire, let it be known from now on that there should be no guests nor should there be drones" (7).

And from these four conclusions, we deduce the new organization of work.

In National Syndicalism, everyone will be workers, and there will be workers in all organs of life. Workers of the spirit and workers of matter.

The workers of the spirit will be the spokespersons of our religion and our culture, our morality, and our intelligence.

The workers of matter will be the artisans of the national economy and will be called producers. Among them, there will be no class differences; everyone, absolutely everyone, will be equally producers, and therefore, everyone, absolutely everyone, will have the same rights and the same obligations. The producer will be the employer who provides the money and commercial organization, that is, the work of the enterprise.

The producer will be the technician who provides scientific direction. The producer will be the worker who provides manual labor. National Syndicalism does not come to mark group supremacies; it is neither a capitalist party nor a proletarian party; therefore, it neither tolerates that all the benefits of production go to the employer, as the liberals want, nor that all go to the worker, as the Marxists want. It seems as absurd to us that the product of each one's labor goes to the community as that the product of the community's labor remains for the exclusive benefit of a few privileged capitalists" (8).

Before, the employer would say to the worker and the technician: "I have money; you have muscles and brains; but since the main thing is money, put yourselves at my service, work for me; I will give you the salary and wage you need to live and I will keep the profit that your effort produces."

And the worker and the technician, who had muscles and brains but did not have money, sold their effort like someone selling a commodity, and became dependent on money. Hence, when that effort did not produce enough, the worker was replaced by the machine, and hence the castes of buyers and sellers of labor. Man was already below matter; society was already at the service of an element that was born to be at the service of society.

In National Syndicalism, the employer, the technician, and the worker will not be castes differentiated by having or not having money, but collaborators in the great and common task of production, partners who need each other because they complement each other and who come together because separated they could do nothing.

In National Syndicalism, the employer will say to the technician and the worker: "I have money; you have brains and muscles; let us form a society among the three to which each contributes what they have and in which we are all equally producers."

And the worker and the technician will not be below the employer nor above either, as some wanted, but at the same level.

Worker: you were deceived by those who told you that you were the only worker and those who told you that, as such, you were the only producer and those who, as such, lied to you that you were the only master.

You were deceived by those who told you that you only had rights; they deceived and insulted you, because you are free, and as such, you have rights, yes, but also obligations. The same rights and the same obligations as other free men.

Why should they humiliate you, considering you irresponsible?

We come neither to deceive you nor to insult you. We will neither deny you what others denied you justly nor give you what others promised you unjustly.

We will give you what rightfully belongs to you, and we will give it to you, not as crumbs nor as spoils of theft: we will give it to you as a right, because being yours, you have the right to receive it.

And we will also give you what no one has promised you until now, because no one was interested; we will give you a place in Spain, we will place you in the soul of Spain, and you will be a soul and an integral part of Spain, with your rights and your obligations, with your clear, defined, and robust personality as a free man and a Spaniard.

You will be Spain!

And your place will be neither higher nor lower than that of other Spaniards; it will be at the same level; it will be equal to all of them. Is this not true equality?

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(1) Manuel Mateo. Rally at the Madrid Cinema, May 19, 1935.
(2) Point 16.
(3) Point 15.
(4) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Rally at the Madrid Cinema, November 17, 1935.
(5) José Antonio. Rally at the Comedia Theater, October 29, 1933.
(6) Constitution of the Spanish Second Republic.
(7) José Antonio. Rally at the Comedia Theater, October 29, 1933.
(8) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Rally at the Europa Cinema, February 2, 1936.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PAYMENT OF WORKERS

We have spoken about work and have said that in material work, employers, technicians, and workers are the three producing elements and that all are equally workers.

Now we will talk about the payment for work, and although we will continue to maintain this characteristic plurality of our State, we will dedicate these chapters to the payment of workers' labor.

Of all the systems advocated by modern sociologists for the payment of this labor, two are the main ones we will study.

The partnership system and the wage system.

The former consists of the employer providing the money and direction; the worker, the labor, and both share in the losses and profits. It is the oldest known system and, with small variations, was practiced throughout the guild period.

The wage system is one in which the worker sells their labor for a daily rate or wage ("journal"). It is the most modern and did not gain true importance until the advent of industrialism.

At first glance, it seems that the system most in line with the principles of human dignity is the partnership system. But it soon becomes clear that the worker cannot wait for the company to profit nor live when the company loses.

On the other hand, the wage system has the disadvantage not of being unjust due to its meagerness (if its injustice lay in its magnitude, it could easily become just again), but of being dissolvent and uneconomical.

Dissolvent because it divides society into two groups of sellers and buyers of labor, and uneconomical because it makes one of those groups, the sellers, feel completely detached from the function they perform.

Indeed; wage earners do not go to produce more and better, but to earn their wage; they do not care about the company, but about the paycheck.

And "this bilateral relationship of work" (1), this duality between profits and wages, makes the worker begin by considering themselves alien to the interests of production and profit and end up hating those interests. But we ask: is not the one who produces a producer? And is the profit produced not of the one who produces it? Then, why is the worker considered a mere seller of muscular effort and not as a producer? Why are they distanced from the interest of the company with the payment of a wage and not associated with the profit?

The partnership system is flawed in that it does not adapt to the economic resilience of the worker; but worse is the wage system, which disintegrates society and sacrifices some producers for the benefit of others. National Syndicalism opts for an intermediate system. A system that takes from the partnership system the consideration of the worker as a productive partner who contributes their labor and produces their benefits, and consequently earns proportionally to those benefits; but from which its two main defects have been eliminated: having to wait for the company to profit to collect and losing when the company loses.

The first defect has been solved by continuing with a kind of wage, and I say kind because in reality it is not a payment that excludes further rights to the produced profits, as is characteristic of wages, but an advance on the profits that will eventually correspond to them and be distributed. The second defect we solve with the very constitution of National Syndicalism, as we will see later, since National Syndicalism, considering itself a national producer, addresses the losses of some just as it limits the profits of others and reserves the excess (see chapter XXV).

Now, it might seem that by being anti-wage we agree with Marxism. Not at all.

We agree with it in recognizing that the worker is a producer of profit; but we do not fall into the servility of believing that only the worker is the one who produces and that work should be measured only in quantity and not in quality.

If a thousand workers manufacture a car in an hour, thanks to the tools, organization, and means provided by the company, could we say that without those tools, that organization, and those means, a worker, working a thousand hours, that is, employing the same amount of labor, would achieve the same result?

If it does not achieve it, it must be admitted that the "surplus value" (as Marx calls it) of that car is not due solely to manual labor, since with equal efforts we do not have equal results, but also to the company and the technique that has thus produced a benefit without exploiting the worker more or less.

And let it not be said, as Marx does, copying (2) from Proudhon, that this is due to the "collective effort," which is greater than the individual effort.

Because this effort, relentless for Marxists and which they only recognize to call it collective and claim it for the worker ("the employer does not pay his workers more than the individual effort, keeping the collective effort for himself," says Marx), is neither worker effort nor collective, because it is not due to a greater or lesser amount of manual labor nor to a greater or lesser number of workers.

Moreover: the larger a company, the greater the profit; but not only without the amount of work being proportionally greater, but, on the contrary, most of the time being less, that is, saving labor and manpower.

This effort, therefore, is not collective effort, it is the effort of company organization and technical direction; it is the work of capital and the work of technique, since it is only a function of that technique and that capital.

Therefore, these two elements are also factors of production, and consequently, they also have the right to the benefits.

We also differ from Marxists in not remunerating work according to its quantity, but according to its quality. They say: since effort and not skill (that is, quantity and not quality) is the only thing that depends on the will of man, that effort is the only thing that deserves rewards, since rewarding anything else would be, in addition to unjust, returning to castes and leaving the disinherited of nature unredeemed; that is, continuing with inequalities.

But what will they achieve by equalizing remuneration? Equalize skills? No. Equalize efforts? Neither; because the skilled always exert less effort. So, ultimately, we will have done nothing more than add the inequality of skills to the inequality of efforts.

This is Marxist equality. We, on the other hand, ask: is it not more equality to ask everyone for their maximum effort and then give more to those who perform more and less to those who perform less?

Is it fair for an apprentice to earn the same as a master? Is it fair for the remuneration of work not to be related to the work itself?

If it were possible, as Proudhon says, "to immobilize purely intellectual functions so that society increasingly approaches nature," there is no doubt that it would be possible to harmonize the Marxist contradiction of equalizing wages and delivering to the worker the value of the work performed.

Because as long as there is inequality of intelligences and aptitudes, there will be inequality of work performed and there will be inequality of benefits and remuneration.

But returning to the topic of work. We said that the payment of work (and we can refer to the work of the three producing elements) in National Syndicalism consisted of two parts:

1. A fixed amount (interest to the company, salary to the technician, and wage to the worker) as an advance taken from future profits, to cover the needs of life.

2. A variable amount, which will be the remainder of the profits that each element (company, technique, and labor) corresponds to according to their participation in the production of those profits.

But let us again disregard capital (whose interest will be set by the State according to the risk of the company). And technique (whose salary will be regulated by its responsibility, intervention, etc.) and whose shares will vary in each case; and let us continue the study of the payment of workers' labor.

The wage is the result of work. That work produces a value, so the wage must be proportional to the value of the work performed.

(It is true that in our system, the profit pays for the value of the work performed; but profit is a problematic thing and work a certain thing, and therefore it cannot be left without fixing, at least, a certain and fair amount.)

On the other hand, man has the right to live from his work, and the needs of a man's life vary in each case with his state of health, number of family members, etc., and can in many cases exceed the value of the work performed.

How to reconcile these two realities?

Many have believed to solve this with the creation of the maximum wage, that is, valuing work by the maximum needs of the worker.

But this is inadmissible, because it neither measures the value of the work performed (commutative justice) nor measures the needs of the individual (equitable justice), which are the two justices that we combine to make our social justice.

We solve all these difficulties in the following way:

We create the fair wage, which is that with which the value of the work performed is exchanged for the price of the merchandise; but setting this price in such a way that this value is, at least, sufficient for a worker with minimal needs to live with it (commutative justice).

We create the family wage, by which an additional wage is distributed equitably, according to the family needs of the worker, which increases with those needs (equitable justice).

This is the logical consequence of the recognition of the moral rights of the worker.

Indeed; every man has two moral rights:

COMMUTATIVE.—The individual has the right to work; but this right is based on the right he naturally has to life, because it is the natural means he has to not die of hunger.

Therefore, the remuneration of that work must be such that it satisfies the needs of that life. That is, man has the right to live from his work.

EQUITABLE.—Man has the mission in this world of the continuation of the species.

It is not an obligation (we respect the vow of chastity); but from his very freedom it follows that he who chooses it obliges himself.

If we observe nature, we see in all animals an instinct of mutual obligations. The male takes care of protecting his family and ensuring that the necessary sustenance is not lacking in his nest. The female, on the other hand, takes care of feeding her young and teaching them life. Even Darwin, in his theory of animal improvement (3), recognizes that this instinct is a law for the human species.

Now, if the woman must take care of domestic chores and the education and upbringing of her children, there is no doubt that at the same time she cannot abandon that upbringing; that education and that home to dedicate herself to external work; but, on the other hand, she does not stop consuming.

Therefore, the worker must earn not only for his own sustenance but also to support his wife and children; because the work of a married woman and children who have not reached sufficient development and education for work not to be harmful to their soul and body is inhumane.

These are the moral rights of the worker and those that mark the dignity of the wage, because if we put man at the service of matter instead of matter at the service of man, we would have to fix the wage strictly by the value of the work performed, since no one will think that two identical goods have different values because one was made by a single man and the other by a father of eight children, nor that the work is greater or lesser by the greater or lesser number of family members.

We have said, finally, that the maximum wage is unjust, and although we do not accept the theories of Malthus and David Ricardo that every increase in wages ultimately produces a decrease in wages (4), because we do not fix it by the law of competition, we could add, with Bellervy, Grosvy, and even with Westo himself, that it is uneconomical.

Wages are not large or small in absolute terms, but in relation to what can be acquired with them. If a worker earns a very high wage and cannot live with it because the cost of living is equally high, that wage will be insufficient and, therefore, small.

On the other hand, if with a small wage one can live comfortably, that wage will be large. Therefore, the problem is not to raise wages, but to lower the cost of living.

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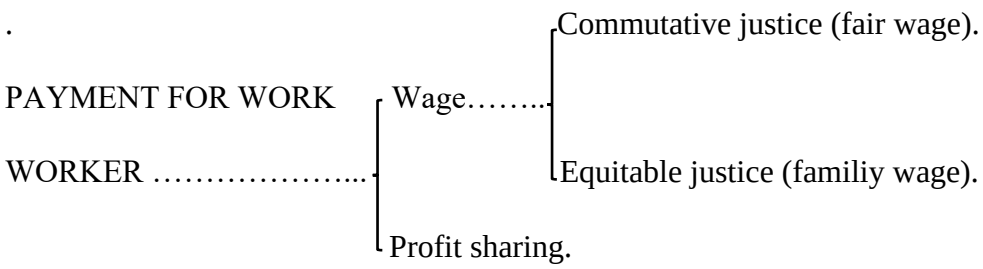
(1) José Antonio. Lecture at the Mercantile Union Circle in Madrid, April 9, 1935.
(2) Let it not be surprising if, when speaking of Marx and his doctrine, we say "copying"; all his theories can be found, before him, in other writers.
Rodbertus said of Marx that he had "plundered him without naming him," and Gaston Richard asks: "Is it possible to find in Marx a single idea that had not already been expressed with equal clarity and greater force by writers of the so-called utopian period?"

According to Gonnard (History of Economic Doctrines, Ch. VII, "Marx and Marxism"), the theory of historical materialism appears in many earlier authors, as demonstrated by E. Worms (Philosophy of Moral Sciences), Audler (Commentaries on the Communist Manifesto), Malthus, Turgeon, Richard, etc.
The theory of class struggle is found in Mirabeau, Turgot, Mercier, Babeuf, Stein, Saint-Simon, Guizot, Say, etc.
The theory of value comes from Smith and Ricardo.
The theory of "surplus value" is in Thompson, Proudhon, and Quesnay.
That of increasing proletarianization, in many other socialists, etc.
(3) The Origin of Man.
(5) "Well-being (he says) increases the population and, consequently, the labor force."

In summary, the scheme of our payment for workers' labor is as follows:



Let us, therefore, begin the study of each of its parts,

CHAPTER EIGHT

FAIR WAGE

We have said that our commutative justice is that in which the work performed is paid or exchanged for its market value, but ensuring that this value is regulated by what the worker needs to cover their fair needs; and immediately we wonder: what is understood by such needs? Those that a worker with a minimal family (with a wife and a child, for example) and good habits needs to live according to their category, including in this life not only food and clothing, but also their education, entertainment, and even savings for possible and unexpected contingencies.

But when establishing this justice, two cases may occur:

1. That the company, due to its economic state or a financial crisis, even recognizing that the work performed is valuable, cannot pay the fair salary.
2. That the value of the work performed does not reach, not even close, the minimum that a man needs to cover the needs of his life and his family.

In both cases, the State has the final say. We have said that it is responsible for directing the national economy towards the common good and, therefore, it is responsible in the first case to determine whether it is beneficial to subsidize the company (if its difficulties are temporary or it serves a useful purpose) or to make it disappear. What cannot be allowed is the payment of starvation wages.

We proclaim loudly that man cannot be at the mercy of commodities and that he has the right to live from his work, and to live decently, not miserably.

In the second case, we have two paths: either make the commodity worth in the market what it actually costs, or make the commodity cost what it is worth in the market. Improve the production system or increase its price.

This is the problem with most agricultural products.

It is said that small wages are paid in the countryside; but the countryside, as it is today, cannot afford more. How can we demand, for example, that the Andalusian wheat farmer spend 52 pesetas on wages for wheat that he then has to sell, at best, for 50 pesetas? This wheat farmer, the following year, will not sow.

The solution to the problem lies in revaluing the countryside, in making the countryside produce enough to pay the wages (by improving cultivation, eliminating intermediaries, providing credits, etc.), and ultimately, after exhausting all revaluation possibilities, raising the price of the commodity. Following the same example of wheat, we see that the price of bread has not risen since 1923, and in these thirteen years, wages, transportation, and even field contributions have risen several times.

There may be cases, finally, where it is not possible to either improve production or raise the price of the commodity, as both solutions would mean the death of the industry.

We might respond that it is already dead if it only serves to create misery; but if we want to see it survive, it must be after regulating work in such a way that, if not higher wages, at least fewer working hours will be achieved: proportional to the wages earned, leaving the rest of the day to cover the rest of the necessary salary with another job.

All these difficulties arise from the error in the formation of unit prices. Indeed, the value of a commodity is the sum of its component values. That is, if we call the raw material A, the labor B, and the transformation and sale expenses and profits C, the total value will be A plus B plus C. On the other hand, the price of that commodity is its value regulated by the law of supply and demand.

There are two ways to regulate this law, and from these two ways come two types of prices: fair price and unfair price. The latter is formed when the law of supply and demand is regulated by the ambition of the entrepreneur and the competition of manufacturers. The former is formed when the law of supply and demand is regulated by utility, fair profit, and fair wages.

That is, when the utility marked by the consumer determines the demand and the fair profit and fair wages marked by the syndicalist state determine the supply. Because until now the opposite has happened: we started from the end; for example, in grapes, we started because the law of supply and demand (regulated by ambition and competition) determined the price of a liter of wine; the industrialist, consequently, set the purchase price of the grapes, and the farmer, finally, was left with a handful of pesetas to pay for labor, contributions, seeds, tools, fertilizers, etc.

All this without considering that the lack of a spirit of unionization required a myriad of intermediaries who took the best part.

And what happened? Since that handful of pesetas was not enough for all the expenses, either starvation wages were paid or the farmer was ruined.

That is why, when demagogy defended the worker and reaction defended the employer, neither defended justice, because if one has the right to life, so does the other; and if one must be guaranteed a fair wage, the other must also be guaranteed a fair profit.

This system of setting prices and wages is the liberal one. The Marxist one is even harsher and more harmful to the worker.

It consists of considering the price of the commodity as originating from only one of the factors of production, "manual and current labor" (1), excluding all other factors, and especially the profit of the entrepreneur and the greater or lesser utility of the commodity. From this, Marxism deduces that the price can be marked in "hours of work," and this work paid, therefore, in "hour vouchers," that is, establishing the "hour currency" instead of the "gold currency," with which the worker who had earned, for example, vouchers worth forty hours of work in the workshop could buy goods in the state stores worth those forty hours of work.

Of course, for this, it is necessary to reach the enormity of making skilled labor disappear and assuming that one hour of work by a specialist worker, and even by the most outstanding artist, is worth the same as one hour of work by the humblest apprentice; and the no lesser enormity of believing that a necessary object has the same value as a useless one, if the same amount of work has been employed in both.

From the two previous theories, which we equally reject, we see the need for state intervention in the structuring of the national economy, since through unions it is the only one that can solve the problem, regulating production to balance supply and demand, avoiding competition, reducing the cost of raw materials, lowering transportation costs, eliminating intermediaries, and, above all, setting the profits of each element of production.

And we say above all, because by setting profits the same as wages, there will be no room for misery or envy; because, let's say it once and for all, Marxism is not hatred, it is envy. Hatred is the opposite of love, and Marxists want wealth for themselves; therefore, they envy, they do not hate.

At first glance, it seems that we fall into some contradiction with what was said in the previous chapter about the problem not being to raise wages, but to lower the cost of living, since here we come to say that to pay fair wages we must raise the cost of subsistence. Not at all: we say, yes, that fair wages and profits must be given above all, and if it is necessary to raise prices to achieve this, they will be raised; but we have also said that the national-syndicalist State has countless levers to pull before reaching the price of goods.

An example we have in agricultural products. A kilogram of vegetables in the countryside is infinitely cheaper than that same kilogram of vegetables in the city. What factors have contributed to its increase in price? The excessive profits of intermediaries and transporters.

Moreover, that kilogram can cost less in the countryside than it does today simply by using another lever of syndicalism. By selecting lands, scientifically increasing irrigation, teaching the most appropriate cultivation systems, and, above all, providing the necessary credits to avoid falling into the hands of usury.

Finally, we must note that if, despite everything, products had to become more expensive, it would not be in the same proportion as the rise in wages, but much less, because the number of producers is much less than the number of consumers.

If a man makes one hundred berets daily, it is enough to raise each beret by five cents to raise his daily wage by five pesetas. And this happens with all products, more so with essential goods, because there are many more consumers for them.

That is, if any product were to become more expensive, it would be the least necessary and the most luxurious. This cannot be called raising the cost of living.

On the other hand, we not only aim not to raise it, but to lower it. To do this, we will first establish social justice, and with it the proportionality between wages and prices, and then we will

lower both in unison and in such a way that what actually decreases is neither one nor the other, but the cost of living.

We are not only going to favor the producer, but also the consumer, just as we are not only going to defend the worker, but also the employer and the technician; because we do not defend the worker for being a worker, but for being a man and a Spaniard, and the employer and the technician are just as much men and Spaniards.

"Worker: do not believe that your condition as a worker gives you rights superior to those of the rest of society. Your rights arise from being a man and a Spaniard, and as such a man and a Spaniard you must have and deserve to have the same privileges and advantages as other men and other Spaniards; but no more" (2).

Therefore, we do not talk about raising wages to infinity. We do talk about raising them to their fair level, as well as setting profits according to that fair level.

The opposite would be demagoguery and would either unjustly raise the cost of living or unjustly sacrifice some Spaniards (the employers) for the benefit of others (the workers).

Therefore, when we talk about wages and salaries, we also talk about profits, and we talk only about fair salaries, wages, and profits. Have we not said that every man (whether he wears a suit or a blouse) has the obligation to work in his hierarchy? Then for the same reason every man (not just the one of a class that for us does not exist) has the right to live from the work of his hierarchy.

And a clarification; we talk about fair wages, and it will be asked: will there be a single law that sets them?

There will not be a single law: there will be a single norm.

The Marxists were very fond of setting wages from Madrid; but they were not interested in justice, but in populism, and they set the maximum wage.

We recognize that the cost of living is different in each region and, therefore, we recognize that the remuneration must be different in each region.

We only mark the relationship of wages with the cost indices, and then each region (duly sanctioned by the higher authorities) will mark the absolute values.

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(1) Capital, Marx.
(2) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Rally at the Madrid Cinema, November 17, 1935.

CHAPTER NINE

FAMILY WAGE

From the moral principle that a man has the right to earn enough to support his family, the concept of the family wage arises. Two are the immediate benefits that this wage would bring to society:

1. Cover the needs of the family.
2. Increase them without fear of misery.

The great disasters of nations are always preceded by a decline in population and culture; that is why every nation that has the will to empire begins by increasing the birth rate. Even Russia, in recent years, has modified its laws on divorce and authorized abortion with the most bourgeois of procedures: subsidies for large families.

If Malthus (1), instead of proclaiming the right of parents to limit the birth of children according to their economic possibilities, had proclaimed the right of newborns to be protected by the State, he would have done a great service to Humanity. If governments, instead of tolerating anti-conception propaganda, had concerned themselves with protecting large families, they would have fulfilled their obligation to lead the Homeland on the path to prosperity. Who, if not those born today, are the men who will defend Spain tomorrow?

Misery: the great reason, the supreme reason for multiusianism. But can there be misery in a well-organized State? Is it not the State's obligation to remedy it? Does it make distinctions in case of wars? Does it call only the rich? If it also calls the miserable when the State needs them, why not attend to them when they need the State?

In Spain too, misery had entered with its Malthusian entourage; in its shop windows, the pamphlets of anti-conceptionism were publicly displayed; in our healthy customs, this moral tuberculosis had nested, which, to the shame of the Homeland, was justified by the neglect in which the Homeland itself held them. It was necessary to create the family wage, that marvelous inequality that equalizes men before the inequalities of life. To some more and to others less; but to all according to their needs.

We would all have liked to be advisors of a great company; but not being so, we do not cease to have needs. The payment of wages, therefore, could not be regulated solely by the commercial value, nor even by the individual needs of the worker; it was necessary to create the family wage.

The Marxists are enemies of the family wage; they prefer the maximum wage. But until observing that needs are not the same in all cases, it is clear that what they advocate is simply an increase in wages, with no benefit to the home and with the consequent increase in the cost of living. They would do better to say clearly that they are not interested in the family.

We, on the other hand, consider it as the nucleus of society with all its educational and regenerative power, and we believe that society cannot be founded except on the basic principles of patriarchy and Christian morality.

Let us, therefore, study the family wage, and to do so in an orderly manner, let us divide our work into three parts:

1. Concept of the family wage.
2. Types of family wage.
3. How to implement it.

Concept of the family wage.—In Chapter VII, we have seen the moral reason for the family wage. From this reason, several consequences are deduced, such as: that the family members to be counted in this right are the wife and children, although, for the sake of breadth of ideas, first-degree relatives unable to earn wages are also mentioned; that the beneficiary of the family wage must be solely the head of the family, as they are the only ones responsible for maintenance.

Types of family wage.—From the lessons provided by the applications made so far, we will deduce the best course for its implementation and point out the defects of the discarded types. To do this, let us follow the following chart:

family wage class
- Absolute.
- Relative.
  - Direct.
  - Indirect.
    - Individual.
    - Collective.

As we can see, the first division covers the absolute and relative wage. The first consists of giving an equal extra wage to all workers whose family members exceed a certain number. In the second, the importance of the extra wage is in relation to the number, age, sex, etc., of the children.

As can easily be understood, we discard the absolute family wage for the same reason as the maximum wage, although it has the advantage over the latter that it is only given to those who have a family.

The relative wage is divided into direct and indirect. The former is the one given directly by the company to the worker; it is completely inadmissible.

Indeed; if the company has to give the workers an extra wage the greater their family needs, it may happen that (although this company is no longer just capitalists, but employers, technicians, and workers together), due to poor business or any other reason, it is necessary to make economies, and the first and easiest would be to hire only single or childless workers; which would immediately cause, as this selection is observed by the workers, Malthusianism, as they them-

selves, seeing that it is easier to get a job with few children than with many, would inevitably fall into contraception.

That is, we would have achieved the opposite of what we intended.

This is solved with the indirect wage, which is one in which the company is charged a fee for each worker (whether or not they have children), and with all the fees a single and common fund is formed, called a compensation fund, from which the amount to be distributed among the workers with families is then drawn.

This way of acting definitively dispels the Malthusian danger, since the company pays the same wage for a father of ten children as for a single person, and the worker, on the other hand, receives according to his needs.

The relative indirect wage can be individual or collective. The one, practiced by each company with its workers only: the other, by a larger or smaller group of companies with the workers of all of them.

There is no doubt that the former has the disadvantage that either a very high fee is imposed on the company or the worker receives a ridiculous amount. On the other hand, the greater the importance of the company or the larger the group of companies, the smaller the said defects; therefore, we conclude that the family wage must be relative, indirect, and collective.

HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE FAMILY WAGE.—As we have just said, the effectiveness of the system is directly proportional to the importance (in number or category) of the group of companies. Therefore, theoretically, the greatest effectiveness would be the single association, that is, the national compensation fund.

Many are opposed to state introduction (administrative, of course; not controlling), arguing that bureaucracy stifles almost all the good intentions of the State and they only grant it the right to codify the system and leave the individual subject to these laws and state control to implement it. In Spain, we could create the family wage on a mandatory basis, approximately under the following conditions:

1. Publishing a regulation to which individuals or entities wishing to establish compensation funds would have to submit, creating something analogous to our current life and worker accident insurance companies.
2. Granting the freedom to establish as many funds as desired, provided they are created and committed to operating under the guarantee and control conditions dictated by the State.
3. Granting companies the freedom to choose the compensation fund or family insurance company that inspires the most confidence.
4. Requiring the inclusion in the family wage of every worker or employee whose earnings are below a certain amount.
5. Establishing a general scale of benefits based on the age, number, and sex of family members.

Delving, in a way, into the internal regime of the compensation funds, we see two problems related to the organization necessary to prevent the company from being defrauded:

1. Regulation to prevent the company from evading its obligations.
2. Regulation to ensure that the worker does not fail to receive his benefits or receive more than those to which he is entitled.

Companies, instinctively, tend to avoid expenses if this saving does not bring them worse consequences. If, on the contrary, it may cause them greater expenses, they do not skimp on them. For example: in worker accident insurance, they have no choice but to insure everyone, because if they do not include someone, it may be precisely that person who has an accident and causes them great harm.

But here there is no such doubt, but it is known in advance who is entitled to the family wage and who is not, so the company could register only those workers who could claim and save the fees of those who, having no right, could not claim.

On the other hand, the worker must do everything possible to feign greater needs, sure that in the company he will not find a whistleblower of the deception, because neither with it does he benefit nor harm his interests.

The State, therefore, must foresee the previous cases. A solution could be the creation of the "Worker's Booklet," along with the stamps of employer contributions. According to this, the company, when delivering its fees to the compensation fund, would receive from them their equivalent in stamps, which in turn would be delivered to the worker (included or not in the benefits), along with his wage or salary, and he, finally, would paste them in his respective booklet.

This booklet would consist of two parts: one, with the civil registry certificates stating his status and children he has or will have, and the other, in which the different companies to which he has belonged and the different compensation funds in which he has been insured would appear, with their respective signatures and contribution stamps; a requirement without which the worker will not have the right to collect his benefit, so, for his own sake, he will not let the company forget to insure him, even if he still has no right to collect, since he knows that he will not be able to do so when the time comes if he has not previously filled these gaps.

Finally, taking into account that the worker would have to collect the family wage weekly, biweekly, or at most monthly, and that this frequency would imply a hindrance in the company's operation, it would be convenient to think that the workers would deal, respectively, with their respective unions, and these, in turn, would settle semiannually with the companies.

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(1) Robert Malthus: An Essay on the Principle of Population, 1798.

CHAPTER TEN

PROFIT SHARING

Until now, when discussing profit-sharing, it was about a portion that the employer would give from their earnings to the worker as a supplement to their wage. "A free pact, express or tacit, by which the employer gives to their worker or employee, in addition to the normal wage, a portion of their profits, without participation in losses" (1).

The national-syndicalist concept of profit-sharing is completely different. There will be no employer in the sense of a master (in terms of hierarchy and function, yes) nor as the sole producer, and therefore it will not be "a portion of their profits" that they will give to the worker as a crumb.

Our syndical organization is, as we have repeated and will continue to repeat infinitely, that of a society of producers in which all those involved in the task are partners (equally partners, although with different functions, categories, and participations) and producers.

That is, with equal rights to the profits; therefore, the profits to be distributed will not be those of this one or that one, but those of each one.

Our employer is like the conductor of a music band: the one who directs; perhaps the most important of all the musicians, but not the sole producer of the harmony.

As for participation in losses, we refer again to Chapter XXV, where this new concept will be explained.

Now then; we have said that participation has a fixed part already paid (wage, salary, and interest) and another variable part, which is the remainder we are dealing with. But this variable part is also not conceived as a more or less pleasant bonus for the worker, but without any function, but rather as a way to continue elevating the worker from their manual category.

Indeed; in large companies, that is, in companies governed by shares, the participation of workers and employees will be made, not in money, but in shares themselves (implementing something similar to labor shareholding); but not creating "labor shares" with particular rights and duties, but rather parceling out ordinary shares and giving them to the worker instead of the money they are entitled to.

That is, this money, instead of being distributed directly, will be used to buy on the stock market (and if not sold on the stock market, to expropriate pro rata among the largest shareholders) the corresponding number of ordinary shares, and then these shares, whole or parceled, depending on the importance of the profits, will be delivered to the beneficiaries.

What if, through this procedure, the company eventually passes into the hands of the worker? And what is wrong with that? Will they work less if they are also owners?

The worker will no longer be just a worker, that is, just a manual partner, but also a financial partner.

But let us not fear their harmful intrusion into matters they do not understand, because they will enter no more or less than today's shareholders, most of whom understand just as much as the worker.

On the other hand, it will give continuity to the work, stability to the employees, harmony to the relationships, and intensity to the tasks, all of which are enormously advantageous for production.

Thery (2) speaks of the inconveniences of participation and admirably condenses the difficulties and objections that its detractors raise, so we will copy a paragraph from his work to observe that the defects attributed to it are not in participation, but in the liberal system in which it developed:

"Suppose an employer who has five hundred workers announces that he will give them 10% of his profits.

"He takes inventory and informs them that he has earned fifty thousand pesetas, promising them their share. Everyone congratulates and enthuses, thinking that ten thousand duros is a large amount, and when they get home, they make plans. On Saturday, they go to the cashier to collect their participation; the first one who presents himself receives ten pesetas. How ten pesetas? he says. Is this all? The employer is deceiving or robbing us.

"The account is, however, exact. 10% of 50,000 pesetas is 5,000, which divided among 500 gives ten per head.

"The employer's act of generosity has only produced the result that the worker thinks that with the fruit of his sweat, his employer has earned fifty thousand pesetas and gives him ten; he does not think of the million pesetas that represent the wages of that year nor of the role that capital and management play in production.

"Suppose, however, that the employer perseveres in his generous resolution. A new fiscal year closes; the year has been bad and ends with a loss. What will the employer do? Will he announce to the five hundred workers the loss and that, therefore, he cannot distribute anything? Will they believe him? Will they not think that it is a pretext, seeing that he continues with the same life-style and the same outward signs of wealth, which he cannot reduce without drawing attention?

"And if they believe him, will they be discreet? A secret among three is a secret for all, says the proverb. What, then, will a secret among five hundred people be? It will be known in the square that this employer has ended with losses, and his credit will suffer; bankers and sellers will want to collect immediately upon maturity; on the other hand, buyers, knowing that he needs to sell, will make their offers accordingly.

"The unfortunate employer, if he is prudent and does not want to ruin himself, will hide his loss and distribute among his workers a fictitious dividend, which will come to increase it.

"Participation has become harmful, and it can be even more so if the workers try to verify the truth in the accounting books, for either they are denied this, in which case there will be a conflict, or by force what in many occasions must be hidden for the success of the company will be discovered."

So far M. Thery. Now then; will we encounter these difficulties?

In the first place (we have already said it), the employer in national-syndicalism is not the master who feels generous and gives a portion of his own, but in our system, both workers, technicians, and employers participate; therefore, no one gives "from their profits," but each takes what corresponds to them.

That is, in the first place, our participation is not charity, but a right; therefore, it is not a reason for gratitude, but for pride.

In the second place, this remainder of participation is already discounted the fixed part corresponding to interest, salary, or wage already previously collected; therefore, there will not be that apparent difference that Thery notices between the fifty thousand pesetas of one and the ten of the other, because in that amount is included a part (the interest) that in our system will have already been collected previously.

In the third place, the participations of each element will not be marked by any of them, but by the corresponding syndicate; therefore, there will be no distrust or hostility.

In the fourth place, in case of loss, there will be no profits; that is, there will be no benefits to distribute; but does this have to be kept as a secret?

In current joint-stock companies, the interest to the shareholder is often not paid, and this is a clear symptom that there have been no profits; therefore, it is an open secret that does not differ from what may result from participation in profits.

On the other hand, as we will see later, if a company operates in our organization, it will be because it fulfills a useful purpose for the State in some order, and the State, consequently, will assist it in losses just as it would limit its gains; therefore, no one will doubt collecting their credits and, consequently, no one will cause alarms.

In summary: our participation in profits will not even have the defects of the participations that some well-intentioned gentlemen found when trying to implement it, even despite the liberal system.

Finally, in small businesses or industries or those not governed by shares, "labor shares" can be created for participation, and ultimately, participation in cash.

In those of very small importance where not even accounting is kept, participation in sales would be implemented, which would be done after marking in the corresponding syndicate the prices and profits of each product.

(1) Carlos Robert: Profit-Sharing in Industry, Commerce and Agriculture, 1892.
(2) Thierry: Exploiters and Salaries (from the Spanish translation).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

This chapter, due to its enormous importance, deserves a separate study. It stems from one of our initial points, which states: "All Spaniards have the right to work. Public entities will necessarily support those who are in forced unemployment" (1).

And some ill-intentioned individuals might ask: So, is the subsidy the proposed solution? Does national-syndicalism settle for supporting the unemployed?

Not at all. We do say that we will go as far as the subsidy, to support the unemployed before letting them starve; but not to express our solution, but to express our determination.

Our solution lies in the very constitution of national-syndicalism. The subsidy as a solution would be the greatest of absurdities.

Indeed; we have previously stated that from the obligation of work derives the obligation of the State to provide work, that is, the obligation of the State to solve unemployment.

Well then; let us note that we say obligation because unemployment is not for us what it is for modern democracies: "an inconvenient fact that one wishes to forget, a motive for charity, an economic phenomenon to be solved by the scientific resources of Political Economy, a weapon for the opposition" (2), but its solution is a duty of the State and a right of the individual.

Therefore, do not say that the problem is solved by subsidizing the unemployed. The subsidy is charity, work is an obligation; one cannot receive as alms what should be received as a right.

But there is another reason not to recommend the crumbs of the subsidy, and that is that in practice, the subsidy, far from remedying unemployment, increases it. There are two types of workers among those who become unemployed: the honest and hardworking worker who cannot find a job due to lack of work, and the lazy worker who voluntarily stops working or is dismissed for being useless or undesirable.

The first must be given work by obligation; the second must be given the corrective that the vagrancy law dictates, also by obligation.

Giving both groups a subsidy, on the other hand, is not only failing to solve the problem of the one who wants to work, but also fostering the laziness of the one who does not, helping them find a way to live comfortably.

The subsidy is the way to legally recognize and protect the right to laziness.

Having made the previous clarification, let us delve into the study of the unemployment problem. Its causes and solutions.

"The fundamental cause of unemployment is the liberal individualist principle that informs the current economic system. This, instead of tending to satisfy national needs, organizes production to obtain the maximum possible profit for the benefit of the groups that own the means of production.

"This tendency leads them to apply technology without consideration for the human being, and instead of serving to humanize work, it displaces them from workshops, factories, fields, etc.

"Factors that also influence the extent of unemployment are partisan struggles, which postpone the pressing problems of the economy for political games; the lack of credit, which prevents modest farmers from improving their crops, and trade policy, which is not oriented, supported by the main sources of wealth, to seek markets for products" (3).

Therefore, the solution of national-syndicalism is one: the transformation of the liberal State into a just and structuring State; into a State like ours, which has as pillars of its program the following two postulates:

1. Justice in the social sphere.
2. Order in the economic sphere.

With social justice, we erase class struggle at once, that struggle that so deters private initiative, with its aftermath of strikes, unrest, price fluctuations, and sabotage.

The Marxist propaganda of the last century has made workers and employers believe that their relations are irreconcilable at all times. In reality, no one can demonstrate this incompatibility without resorting to the clichés of pamphlets and rallies.

If instead of insisting on highlighting the points of divergence, these pseudo-apostles of the revolution had dedicated themselves to studying objectively and without passion the points of contact, they would have found it absurd that two elements so intimately united and with such intertwined interests would stop to discuss as irreconcilable enemies.

Social peace is the first step that national-syndicalism takes on its solutionist path.

The second step is the establishment of order in the economic sphere; that is, the "structuring of the economy with an organic sense" (4).

With this structuring, the National-syndicalist State will bring order to the current anarchy, redistributing crops with a moral and national sense of improvement, bringing industries to the most suitable regions, balancing production and consumption.

Thus, the State will always know (because it will have its tentacles covering all manifestations of the national economy) where and how we should produce wealth, which branch of industry, ag-

riculture, mining, or commerce we should increase; which roads to build, which railways, which water jumps, which occupation, in a word, we can lucratively give at a given moment to the mass of unemployed.

The State will also have (to later develop it in proportion to the needs of unemployment) a complete plan of essential works. Works that, sooner or later, and without unemployment existing, would have to be done to create the great Spain we long for. Works, moreover, aimed at absorbing unemployment, not only in their construction period, but also later in their productive period, in the functional life of the created wealth; because we must elaborate and select the plan in such a way that the employment of arms is, so to speak, double.

Before, this plan of works was done with stinginess, and it was natural; it was not intended to solve unemployment, it was only intended to hide it during the life of a government, during a period of time marked by politics and with more or less electoral purposes.

Complete plans were not made because these would have been "long-term plans impossible to carry out by governments whose life is counted in weeks" (5).

We must make a total plan subordinated to the economic organization we advocate; we must have a complete program and fulfill it above all, despite everything. Is it long? It does not matter; the life of the future government must be longer. It is time for the climbers to realize that the time of ministerial cliques has passed.

Our plan must not be, as in other countries, a proclaimer of spending or a proclaimer of saving, but a proclaimer of work. Is this expensive? The increase in unemployment should hurt us more than the increase in the budget.

Moreover, there is no other remedy; it is an obligation of the State.

We must only ensure that this plan is complete, definitive, and has as its motto "give work by creating wealth," not as has been done in Madrid, for example, in recent years, where work was given by lifting the cobblestones of the streets to put them back.

When there are so many towns without churches, without schools, without local roads, without water, and without light!

In Italy, for example, under the fascist era, the pestilent Pontine Marshes were drained. It was a sanitary necessity, it would have had to be done sooner or later; but with it, a definitive good was also done to the unemployed workers, because not only were arms employed in the drainage and sanitation period, but afterwards, and forever, these now sanitized and healthy lands entered production, and this production will indefinitely absorb thousands of arms that would otherwise have returned to unemployment after the construction effort.

As for the second modality of unemployment, intellectual unemployment, as widespread proportionally as manual unemployment, and although less known due to its smaller number, sadder

due to the silent tragedy of the abandonment in which the suffering middle class is, it has been forgotten for these very reasons.

In democratic politics, governments did not deal with a problem until they felt the pressure of the street, and since, naturally, a demonstration of one hundred thousand unemployed architects or engineers could not be formed, nor their intellectual capacity allowed them to strike, nor their number to make their own electoral campaign, they had no place in democracy, for which only number and force mattered, what in the future "democratic" syndicalism they will find: an ear for their complaints and attention for their calls.

Now then; what are the special causes of intellectual unemployment, besides the economic crisis? Professional individualism and the spiritual crisis.

Individualism is overcome by the union, which will not only be an employment office, but also a defense against foreign immigration, intrusion, technical overpopulation, and professional indignity.

In Spain, 53,000 foreign technicians are employed and paid by Spanish companies, who naturally occupy the positions of as many unemployed Spaniards. The evil does not come from the better training of the foreign technician (from the previous number, scarcely 2 per 1,000 of irreplaceable specialists could be found), but from the lack of patriotism, from the petty concept we have that what is foreign is better, and thus, a huge number of mediocrities that would hardly have made their way in their country come, sheltered by our idiocy, to occupy the best-paid and most considered positions in the Nation.

The solution in these cases is very clear. Every Spaniard who has a foreign technician can continue to have them, but paying another equal salary to the corresponding union so that it dedicates it to the unemployed national technicians. Whoever wants a luxury must pay for it, and whoever has no patriotism must learn it.

The second union protection will be the obligation of an officially recognized academic title; that is, the persecution of intrusion. There is no doubt that if the State creates an intellectual hierarchy based on official or private but titled instruction, it must protect these titles; because if after the years invested in educational centers one reaches the same state of equality as the untitled, one of two: either the educational centers are superfluous or the studies of these centers are, since it is very likely that the one who does not have a title is because they have not followed the necessary normality and breadth of the appropriate studies.

The third union protection would be against technical overpopulation. "To dignify the liberal professions and prevent titular congestion, access to higher education centers will be restricted, requiring competence tests" (6).

The corresponding union (agricultural, industrial, sanitary, etc.) will mark each year the appropriate number of students (agricultural engineers, industrial engineers, doctors, etc.), and these will be selected among the applicants for their greater competence, with which we will achieve

two things: one, the creation of a moral aristocracy; the other, the reduction of professional unemployment.

Finally, as an exclusive protection weapon for the dignified intellectual, professional purification tribunals will be created in the technical unions. Not everyone who finishes a career, but the one who is worthy of exercising it, will have protection in our State, and the scoundrel, whether called a doctor, lawyer, architect, or pharmacist, who makes merchandise of his career and puts his brain at the service of money and not of the profession, will lose his career.

In the liberal State, the technician has more freedom and more need to dishonor himself. If there were no rogues, what would so many lawyers, so many doctors, so many seasonal pharmacists live on? The business is precisely in ensuring that there are, in forming a partnership with them.

In the National-syndicalist State, neither that freedom nor that need will be tolerated, because nothing, not even hunger, justifies immorality, and because there will be no hunger.

For us, the professional title is not one more right: it is one more duty; and the judges who "lean," the doctors who serve as a cover, the lawyers who defend unworthy or unreasonable lawsuits or sow discord to have them, the architects who issue biased reports, appraisals, or valuations, we must search for them with a magnifying glass and exterminate them to form our unions, without pettifogging lawyers, immoral doctors, or signing architects.

We must form our unions with the healthy part of the Nation, and the unhealthy, the unworthy, let them emigrate to more complacent countries or rot despised in ours.

The spiritual crisis is the crisis of the liberal-Marxist century. "In these materialistic and materialized times in which we live, in which the muscle has been made a myth and man a machine, it cannot surprise us, and it is logical that it happens, that intellectual unemployment becomes increasingly serious, and that, however, it neither worries nor is attended to as it deserves. At most, we see in it a consequence of the economic crisis that afflicts Humanity, a sequel to the disorders we suffer; but, on the other hand, we despise the true significance of the phenomenon, we disregard its authentic character, insofar as it is the evident and appreciable proof of the spiritual decadence of our time" (7).

Materialism had displaced intelligence, as the tavern keeper would corner an old parchment, and intelligence, like the old parchment, had no other recourse than to wait for better times or serve as a skin in the tavern.

Let us not speak here of special solutions to the spiritual problem; our entire program is an immense solution, and in it intelligence (that old parchment that speaks to us of our heroes, our minstrels, our wise men) will neither have to be commercialized nor gather dust.

Its better times have already come.

(1) Point 15.
(2) Salvador de Madariaga: Anarchy or Hierarchy.
[Note: Standard translation of Madariaga's work, maintaining the philosophical dichotomy]
(3) Report of the National Council of F.E., November 15, 1935.
(4) Report of the F.E. Council, November 15, 1935.
(5) Ruiz de Alda. Rally in Briviesca, December 29, 1935.
(6) Report of the National Council of F.E., November 15, 1935.
(7) Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta: Intellectual Unemployment.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PROPERTY

If we observe the evolution of primitive facts, we see that the first man, faced with the obligation to live, looks around for what can serve to meet his needs and takes it, that is, appropriates it.
In other words: property arises in third place.
In the first place is man, with his right to life.
In the second place, the virtue of things to satisfy man's needs.

In the third place, the appropriation of them.
Let us note, therefore, that property does not arise from the accumulation of useless things, nor did man appropriate useful things to collect them. That is, property does not arise "just because," but "because it serves" to meet the needs of the individual.

Thus, property must fulfill its primary function for which it was born and without which it would have no reason to exist: to serve to satisfy the needs of the individual (individual mission).

But this is not the only mission of property, although it is the first.

Man grows and multiplies; what the first appropriated must be respected by the second, because having the right to life, he has the right to have no one prevent him from satisfying the needs of that life. He has the right to property.

Now then: if we study property in its primitive manifestation, that is, in land, we see that it has not been placed by God to serve this one or that one, but to serve all.

This does not mean that the land must be collective (this is an absurdity, as we will see later), but that prior to the right of property, and above it, is the second mission: to serve others (social mission).

In other words: we do not say that the land "must belong to everyone," but that "it must serve everyone"; therefore, it can belong to this one or that one; but always with the obligation to fulfill the double mission that characterizes it.

Do not say that the right of property, since it comes from the right to life, was born with the first man and, therefore, independent of the social function: because the social function is not that it was born with society, but that it became evident with society. Like the cold of snow becomes evident with sensitivity, without this meaning that the snow was not cold before.

The right of property, which is of natural law, was born with the double mission that characterizes its justice, making the individual function of that mission evident with the first man, and the social function with the second, but preexisting society.

That is, the social mission of property was not the first to originate appropriation (the first and, therefore, prior to society, was, as we have seen, the individual mission); but this does not mean that it ceases to exist and to oblige.

Although the first man, when appropriating the land, did not think of the needs of others, since they did not exist, but of his own needs and his obligation to live, this does not mean that there were not more men later and, therefore, new obligations.

Now then; there are two original sources (original sources, not rational foundations) of private property: that of occupation, which is the one we have just discussed, and that derived from human labor.

It might seem that the double mission of property obliges only the first source, which is the one born from the fertility of the fields, etc., and as if we said independently of man, who at first did nothing but occupy them; but not the second source, the property born from his labor, which being personal to each man seems that he should be the absolute and individual owner of its fruits. That is, without social obligation.

But this is not so. Man is born with the obligation to work, but not all have the same capacity for work: some are born clever, others foolish, some strong, others weak, some skilled, others inept, and precisely this inequality is what originates the inequality in the second source of property.

That is, not the effort, which can be equal in all, but the yield, which is according to aptitudes. Now then; the only thing that man puts in and, therefore, is as if we said absolutely his, is the effort, because aptitudes are not his merit, but a gift from God.

Who can boast of having highlighted his property by his own means? Who can say that he has made himself strong or apt? Who, therefore, can call himself the absolute owner of something created without absolute merit? Therefore, if the social function obliges the property born from the different fertility of the fields, it also obliges the property born from the different aptitude of intelligences.

That is, if the property of the land must serve everyone, even those who have not arrived in time to occupy it, the property of labor must be at the service of the disinherited who, not having received those gifts, could not obtain those goods.

But let us repeat that this does not mean that we are going to collectivize this property, but that it must also fulfill its social mission.

On the other hand, the State, when it was born, not only found private property natural, but also found it in accordance with its conveniences.

Indeed; faced with the double law of the obligation to work and differences in capacities, there were only two paths: to demand the same amount of work from everyone or to demand from each according to their capacity.

The first would be harmful to society, as it would require the minimum yield, that which the least gifted man is capable of, with which countless energies would be lost. The second would be unjust: society "desires" that everyone work with their maximum effort; but this, besides being unjust, would be impossible, because everyone would try to hide their energies to avoid being forced to work more than others.

How would this injustice and this withdrawal be solved? With the stimulus; creating a reward proportional to the value of the work performed, with which we come to private property, because if what we give is not given with the right to keep what is left, we have not solved the issue.

If a worker is entitled to 20 in payment for his labor and five are enough for his life, if he is not allowed to keep the remaining 15 to use them when and how he wants, he will not be interested in earning more than five and, ultimately, he will not work more than necessary to achieve those five, and if he believes he can be forced, he will try to hide his skill.

It is, therefore, necessary to grant this right, and this right leads to private property. Therefore, the convenience of the State is in accordance with natural law. In summary: private property has these three characteristics:

1. It must fulfill its double individual and social mission for which it was born. Therefore, it cannot be exclusively individual, as the liberals want, nor exclusively social, as the Marxists want.
2. It is prior to society, and, therefore, just as property must recognize its mission because it is prior to it, the State must recognize private property because it is prior to it.
3. The State not only recognizes it because it is prior to it and of natural law, but because it is in accordance with its conveniences.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

COLLECTIVE PROPERTY

As many people have been discussing collective property lately, we will dedicate a chapter to briefly outline our stance on the theory of collectivization.

Karl Marx (1) advocates for the abolition of private property, based on the assumption that private property is not the fruit of labor, but an inheritance of bourgeois property, which in turn is an inheritance of feudal property. He asks, puzzled: "But does wage labor create property for the proletarian? Not at all: it creates capital; that is, property that exploits wage labor."

If in the liberal capitalist system, the accession of labor to property is impossible, that is why we abhor liberal capitalism.

Now then; what would Marx and all the collectivists, who have as their main argument this impossibility, say if they were presented with a system in which property arises from labor? Would they still think of collective property?

Well, for us, property arises primarily from labor, and therefore it is as sacred as labor itself.

Indeed, property is the right to possess, and if labor is sacred and through savings and privations we manage to buy property with that labor, this property is as sacred as the labor itself, because ultimately it is a transformation of labor, and being transformed does not make it less sacred; therefore, property that originates from labor is sacred.

It is enough, therefore, to create a system based on this origin of property.

It will be said that, even assuming this new system is in force, labor would not always be the source of private property; that honesty would not always shine as the sole beacon of its birth; that greed, fraud, and usury would continue to be inexhaustible sources of wealth.

Well, let those who object in this way agree with me that this is not a reason to oppose private property, but to oppose usury, fraud, and greed. This argument would, at most, be another reason for state intervention in the national economy.

We advocate for a new system, if you will, in which labor must be:

1. Obligatory for all.
2. A certain source of wealth.

We must not let our enemies say, as the Marxist Vidal did: "They say that fortune is acquired through labor; it is true, but through the labor of others" (2).

Marx (3) also denies the right of inheritance. But if we proclaim the right to possess, how can we deny the right to dispose? Denying this would be tantamount to annulling the other.

Moreover, inheritance is the savings of labor transmitted by love; that is, it is labor and love condensed into a single act.

When a father works, he loves the work because he sees in it the way to improve the future of his children. If we take away his right to bequeath, one of two things: either we also take away his love for work or his love for his children.

But let it be understood that we speak of the inheritances of parents, children, siblings, spouses, that is, those in whom love has dignified the defects of ambition and greed to transform them into the virtue of saving. Those amassed through love and privations, with those privations and that love of which only the one who loves is capable.

These are the ones that, as an expression of private property, we declare sacred. The others, those simply due to friendship and distant consanguinity, will pass entirely or with more or less surcharges into the hands of the State, so that the State fulfills its guardianship purposes.

Of course, in this affirmation, we do not include charitable or pious wills, which, although regulated, will be encouraged by the State.

Collectivism is the supreme aspiration of the Marxist system and is based on three entirely false principles, which are:

1. Labor does not originate private property.
2. Collective property is chronologically the first known and practiced by man.
3. Such property is philosophically natural in the human species, while private property is a kind of aberration of this first and logical collective manifestation.

We will not discuss the collectivist theory point by point now, because that is not the purpose of this chapter, but simply to establish our position against collectivism.

Therefore, we will only say, repeating what was stated in the previous chapter, that stable private property is not "imposed" by natural law, but "conforms" (but fundamentally supported by that natural law) with it; that earthly goods have been created for the utility of the human species, not of a particular individual, but that it "suits" Humanity to confer it to the individual.

Aristotle (4) also speaks of these "conveniences," from which we could draw the following:

1. Private property stimulates in individuals their love for work.
2. Collectivism always ends in the usurpation of the strongest.
3. Social order is more guaranteed when each has something to lose.
4. Respect for private property leads us better to understand the excellences of the social state (5).

Moreover, how can we say that collectivism is natural law, if it is precisely nature that shows us greater limitations to the power of collective appropriation?

If we take words from Quesnay (6), we could say that "it is similar to the right of swallows to eat all the mosquitoes that fly in the air; but in reality, they are limited to those they can catch."

Thus, Marxist workers will have the right to the goods of all; but in reality, they will only be able to enjoy those obtained with their own effort. This is what we call private property.

In summary: our theory is that the collective form is not natural and that the organization of private property can be modified. That is, the abolition of private property is not acceptable, but its regulation according to the conveniences of the common good is; or, in Aristotelian terms: "Goods should be personal from the point of view of property and common from the point of view of their enjoyment."

The practical demonstration that communist collectivism is not natural lies in the failure of the communist, Icarian, and phalanstery colonies that were voluntarily formed under the doctrines of Owen, Cabet, and Fourier. If man and collectivism are good by nature, as proclaimed by the principles of orthodox Marxist philosophy, why must it be imposed by force (as the "scientific" socialists want) and fail when man is left free to practice it, as the "utopians" failed?

René Gomard (7) says, speaking of the Christian, and we could say Falangist, concept of property:

"Fortune must be explained and justified through social services and not be a means of indulging in an idle life contrary to the divine law of work.

"In general, the Scholastics, without disapproving the inequality of conditions, which even seems good to them from the point of view of the exercise of the most varied virtues and a better exhibition of human merits, do not like excessive inequality and easily show their antipathy towards latifundia."

And he adds: "What is most striking in the Thomist theory of property is its character of balance and moderation. It is inspired by a high idea of the responsibility of the owner; it interprets his right as emanating from an obligation towards society and, above all, towards God; it strives to establish an economic order based on moral order and to subject human activity to the consideration of higher-order purposes. It is imbued with the ideas of Christian solidarity, organization, and hierarchy, with each having their place in the social order, with their corresponding rights and obligations."

We reject collectivism in the sense and political scope given to its system so far; but we accept it in the sense of moral solidarity and even advocate it as a new modality of private property, as we do by promoting communal (8) and syndical patrimony and as we have seen by replacing wages with participation in the company.

In other words: we do not accept collectivism either as the only form of property or as state property, since we aim for all property, even directed and ordered by the State, to be managed exclusively by the individual and by the greatest number of individuals possible, with no more restrictions than those aimed at the common good.

This is the difference between one and the other collectivism.

The former is a way of making private property disappear; the latter is a way of multiplying it. The former delivers everything to the State; the latter delivers it to the one who directly works it, with or without the intermediation of the syndicate. The former proceeds from confiscation; the latter, from labor.

We, in collectivism, see not a change from "private owner" to "State owner," without any benefit for the worker, who would continue to receive his salary equally, but a redemption of the proletariat, a change from "capitalist owner" to "worker owner," a change achieved not by theft, but by accession to property through the honorable path of labor.

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(1) Communist Manifesto, published with Friedrich Engels, January 1848.
(2) F. Vidal: Vivre en travaillant, 1818.
(3) Communist Manifesto. Third point: "Abolition of inheritance."
(4) Critique of the Republic, by Plato.
(5) Also Saint Thomas (Summa Theologica, Question 66, Article 2).
(6) Quesnay: Natural Right.
(7) History of Economic Doctrines.
(8) "The primary objective of the National-Syndicalist State will be the reconstruction of village patrimonies," Point 22.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LIMITS OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

The right of property, according to our great King Alfonso the Wise, the right of property is "the power that a man has over his thing to do with it and in it what he wishes according to God and according to law" (1). Therefore, God and law are the limiting powers of this human power.

The limits that God sets are not for us to study; they are in the Decalogue, and as long as the transgression does not harm others, it remains entirely in the conscience of each individual, and their responsibility is not before man, but before God.

As Pope Pius XI (2) said: "The proper use of their own things by owners, but honestly, does not belong to this justice, but to other virtues; the fulfillment of whose duties (and here he quotes words from Leo XIII in his *Rerum Novarum*) cannot be demanded by legal means."

Let us move on, then, to the second limiting power: the State; and immediately a doubt will arise: Can the State set limits to the right of property? Being this right prior to the State and of natural law, limiting it would not be, as Spencer says, denying that it is absolute?

This preliminary doubt has an easy answer.

First, the limits we speak of are not on the dominion of property, but on the use of that dominion. To limit is to restrict the use, not to remove the perfect dominion.

Second, the State has a purpose: the common good. And the right of property not only does not oppose it, but, on the contrary, has an identical purpose. Therefore, the State, by setting limits that suit this purpose, does not act against private property, but with it.

The State cannot "directly curtail the right of private dominion; but it can influence it directly as the common good demands" (3). The State also does not have the right to the lives of citizens, and yet it can take it from those who, misusing it, are a danger to others. Therefore, the State, "when necessity demands and natural law has not done so" (4), is the regulator of the "use" (not of the perfect dominion) of property.

But in reality, National Syndicalism does not even speak of limiting the use of the right of property, but simply of keeping it in check; that is, of obliging it at all times to fulfill the double mission for which it was born. What more limits are needed than those that property itself has? Have we not seen that property must, first, satisfy the needs (needs according to their rank, but needs, not whims) of the one who possesses it, and after fulfilling this individual mission, it must fulfill the social mission?

Well, the State, which was born precisely to watch over the common good, will only have to ensure that, on the one hand, the individual function is not transformed into individual abuse, and

that, on the other, all property then fulfills the social mission. In other words: to curb the individual mission (since the owner will tend to use it more, not less) and to urge the social mission (since the owner will tend to use it less, not more).

Therefore, one cannot speak of state limitations. National Syndicalism must act implacably on property, but without touching it or doing a pruning job, but simply a policing job. Property limits itself. What happens is that the owners forgot these limits, and when reminded of them, they cry out saying that property is being attacked. They do not remember that property has rights, but also duties, and perhaps more serious than the rights themselves.

The sources of rivers first irrigate the fields that surround them, and then, following the course of their beds, they irrigate the fields of others. Property, like rivers, also has two missions to fulfill: first, to ensure the well-being of the one who possesses it (individual function); second, to ensure the well-being of others (social function), and just as there are laws prohibiting anyone from stopping the surplus waters after having irrigated their fields, to the detriment of others, so in the new social structuring there will be laws prohibiting anyone from preventing their property from fulfilling the social function that is obligatory for it.

No one will be able to keep their productive wealth unproductive. "Wealth has as its first destiny (and so our State will affirm) to improve the living conditions of all who make up the people" (5).

Therefore, no one will be able to dedicate their wealth to satisfying only individual appetites: they will fulfill their double mission, and if they do not fulfill it, the State will ensure that this wealth is not a stagnant pool, but a fertilizing artery.

All the wealth of the country must be, after satisfying individual needs, at the service of the spiritual and material needs of the common good. The State will make use of it when it deems it necessary.

With compensation? It should be compensated as much as possible; but just as the State compensates those who die for the Fatherland and not those who die by the executioner, so the State will distinguish between those it expropriates out of necessity, despite fulfilling their mission, and those it expropriates because they do not fulfill it.

Until today, in liberal-capitalist states, the individual mission of private property was so revered that it came to form a state within the State itself.

From today, in National Syndicalism, this exclusivity must disappear, not at the whim of the ruler, but at the needs of the nation.

Does Spain need a fleet? Why should we stop, if it is of vital interest, before the possibilities of the public treasury? We turn to the private sector, decree a special contribution in proportion, naturally, to individual availability (charging only the surplus of each one) and build the necessary fleet.

Are anti-tuberculosis sanatoriums needed? Well then; are we going to leave sick Spain, which also almost always coincides with humble Spain, doomed to a tragic life and an equally tragic death because the budget does not allow for a complete solution to the problem?

Not at all. If money is needed for this that the State does not have, we turn to the private sector, take it from wherever necessary; but we will not allow a single Spaniard to die in the gutter while there is luxury, comfort, or entertainment to suppress.

No one can enjoy the superfluous while others lack the essential.

Property, looking at its mission, has two completely different legislations:

One for that part of wealth destined to satisfy the just needs of the one who possesses it: legislation of protection, of respect.

Another for that surplus part that belongs to the rich, but must be at the service of the poor: legislation of intervention.

The State will consider this part as if it were the money of the poor administered by the rich: "administrators of the money of the poor," Saint Paul called these rich. Therefore, as an administrator, it will ask for what is needed for the poor.

Not a single vital problem will remain unresolved due to lack of budget, because it will be as broad as necessary and at the service of the common good will be all the surplus of private property.

Life will be simpler, but more pleasant; there will not be so much money, but we will feel more like brothers; we will live a more humble life, but more equal.

It does not matter. We do not come to be better off, but to be better.

There is only one case in which it might seem that limits are imposed on property, and that is when individual interest and collective interest are in conflict; that is, the individual mission and the collective mission.

Then the collective interest must triumph, even at the cost of individual rights.

But this does not mark any new theory: this is logical. Only liberalism, with its cult of the rights of man, could make property the stronghold of the individual, the closed preserve where the owner can do and undo at his whim and caprice, the true "right to use and abuse" of the Romans (in the broad sense of the word "abuse," which not even the Romans applied).

Also in this non-recognition will be based countless confiscations, or at least the control of countless companies of a moral or sentimental nature.

For example, propaganda services: cinema, theater, radio, and the press.

Simply because they are a good business, can these services remain in private hands? Are they sources, perhaps, of profit and not temples of teaching? These services, which are the most powerful weapon of citizen education, in the hands of merchants? Will it be allowed that one profits, even if a crowd is poisoned?

Not at all.

It is fine to profit from them; but their first function, their main function is not to make money, but to educate the masses. How many times, for money, has the press been sold to masonry, cinema and theater to immorality, radio to the enemies of God and the Fatherland.

In National Syndicalism, it will not be so: either they will be completely nationalized or such strict control will be exercised over them that the scenes of yesteryear will be impossible.

These centralizations would have the disadvantage that if the State were anti-religious, they could become weapons of anti-religion.

But National Syndicalism would not be what our first leaders founded if it were not deeply Catholic. In any case, what is the Concordat for?

Another property that will have to be limited is the property of medicinal formulas.

Some laboratories have them as a profitable business. It costs them two, they charge fifteen: they earn thirteen.

This would be fine if medicines were a luxury item or if diseases only attacked the wealthy.

The National Syndicalist State will not allow speculation with the needs of others, and one of two: either it will nationalize the formulas declared of sanitary interest and produce them in the "national laboratory of the health syndicate," or it will set the prices at which the private laboratory can produce them.

Leo XIII and Pius XI, those two colossi of modern sociology, who would have been able to dominate the chaotic situation of the world if the pseudo-Catholics had been able to dominate their appetites, said in their magnificent social encyclicals:

"God left to the activity of men and the institutions of peoples the delimitation of private property" (6).

"Men must take into account not only their own utility, but also the common good, as deduced from the very nature of dominion, which is both individual and social, as we have said. To determine in detail these details when necessity demands and natural law has not done so, that pertains to those who govern the State. Therefore, public authority, always guided by natural and divine law and always inspired by the true needs of the common good, can carefully determine what is lawful and unlawful in the use of their goods" (7).

Therefore, we are completely in agreement with the Church. Moreover, our language is exactly the same as that of the Church.

"It is not lawful for there to be many very poor and a few very rich," says Leo XIII (8).

"It is not tolerable that enormous masses live miserably while a few enjoy all the luxuries," say our initial points (9).

"A certain category of goods must be reserved for the State, as they carry with them such economic power that it is not possible to allow them to private individuals," says Pius XI (10). "We defend the tendency to nationalize the Bank, and through the corporations, the great public services," say our points (11).

"Nor can anyone pretend to exempt themselves with small alms of mercy from the great duties imposed by justice," says Pius XI (12). "They believe that the inexorable fulfillment of certain economic and historical laws is mitigated by saying a few kind words to the workers and sending them some knitted sweaters for the children," says José Antonio (13).

Therefore, there is no difference between the language of the Church and ours. But the Church, due to its spiritual and otherworldly character, has the punishment of its violators in the other world, and since this punishment is too distant for the frivolous, it finds itself disobeyed and has to reduce itself in this world to lamenting the attitude of these pseudo-Catholics.

"There are those who, calling themselves Catholics, hardly remember the sublime law of justice and charity by virtue of which we are commanded not only to give to each what belongs to them, but also to help our needy brothers as if they were Christ himself. These, and this is the most serious, do not fear to oppress the poor out of a spirit of profit.

"There are, moreover, those who abuse religion itself and cover themselves with its name in their unjust exactions to defend themselves from the completely just claims of the workers" (14).

"How to judge the conduct of Catholic employers, who in some places managed to prevent the reading of our encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* in their patronal churches? Or that of those Catholic industrialists who have shown themselves until now enemies of a labor movement recommended by Us? And is it not regrettable that the right of property recognized by the Church has sometimes been used to defraud the worker of his just wage and his social rights?" (15).

We, on the other hand, have our power in this world, and our prisons will be wide open and our laws ready to bring to heel those who stray from their social duties.

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(1) Part 3, Title 28, Law 1.
(2) Quadragesimo Anno.
(3) A. Vermeersch: Questions Concerning Justice.
(4) Pius XI, encyclical Quadragesimo Anno.

(5) Point 12.
(6) Leo XIII, encyclical Rerum Novarum.
(7) Pius XI, Quadragesimo Anno.
(8) Encyclical Rerum Novarum.
(9) Point 12.
(10) Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno.
(11) Point 14.
(12) Encyclical Divini Redemptoris.
(13) Rally of May 19, 1935, at the Madrid Cinema.
(14) Pius XI, Quadragesimo Anno.
(15) Pius XI, Divini Redemptoris.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CAPITAL

Capital is the accumulation of those riches whose purpose is to produce.
We have deliberately replaced the common phrase "destined to produce" (a discretionary action of man) with "whose purpose is to produce" (the intrinsic nature of the thing), because the former definition justified countless abuses, such as that of dead capital, where it sufficed for man not to allocate it to production for it to cease being capital—an intolerable abuse (1).

From this definition, the following two characteristics are deduced:

1. The true function of capital.
2. The true hierarchy of capital.

Let us begin by studying them separately. We have said that capital is the accumulation of riches whose purpose is to produce; for example, machines, money, land, etc.

- Therefore, the function of capital is not to leave them idle nor to allocate them solely to earning interest, but to put them to work.

For greater clarity, let us analyze not capital in general but one of its components, such as financial capital—money. Just as in the study of property, we begin by understanding things and their function to then deduce property and its function, so too must we begin by understanding the function of money to comprehend the function of financial capital.

Money, as we saw in Chapter V, emerged as a commercial necessity to facilitate exchange: it served as a kind of bridge to connect transactions between different producers.
Initially, these transactions were conducted directly. However, as commerce expanded, it soon became clear that creating a currency was necessary.

Often, a person with wheat who wanted wine would find that the wine seller did not want wheat, necessitating one or more intermediaries to bridge the gap and reach the wine seller.
In other words, each transaction became a chain of transactions, wasting precious time at the very least.

At first, materials that satisfied universal needs and were widely accepted in trade were chosen as currency. In some communities, livestock (2) (the word "pecunio" derives from "pecus"); in others, wheat (the word "drachma" means "a handful"); and in others, blue cotton cloth (from which the "guinea" originated), etc.

But gradually, as commerce grew and more distant communities interconnected, the need arose to standardize exchange further. Across all regions, money evolved into precious metals, which,

due to their durability, divisibility, weight, etc., proved to be the best medium of exchange. Thus, metallic currency was born—first by weight and later minted.

Therefore, money was originally created solely as a medium of exchange. Who turned it into an instrument of profit?
Greed, ambition, and usury. Those who amassed abundant money discovered a convenient way to live without working.
They lent to those in need—not as a favor or assistance, however secured, but as a business, charging exorbitant interest rates (3).

2. Capital cannot be hoarded or kept unproductive (dead capital).

These are the differences between property and capital. The former is the accumulation of produced wealth (houses, furniture, etc.); the latter is the accumulation of that part of wealth destined for production (money, machines, land, etc.).

Therefore, the former can generate rent; the latter cannot generate interest (money cannot produce money by itself). The former can be unproductive (jewelry, paintings, etc.); the latter cannot (money must either become property or keep circulating).

These differences stem from a single one: property, in its static sense, is an end state (produced wealth). Capital is a transitional state (productive wealth) to reach the property of produced goods, which is its purpose. Therefore, it cannot have the same privileges as if it were permanent.

Capital is not static property; it is the means to obtain that property. In life's economic struggle, we start from a principle to reach an end; we start from labor to reach property. Indeed, all human struggle is an "effort" to achieve the "possession" of things that bring us well-being.

On this path we must travel, this path that takes us from effort to possession, we place (not to replace labor, not to replace property, but to facilitate the path, to reach the end more easily) a vehicle, a bridge: capital.

Labor is, so to speak, a beginning; property, an end, and capital, simply a means created by man to serve as a link. Therefore, if anyone wants to make this means a substitute for labor or static property, they betray the function of capital, and the National-Syndicalist State will not tolerate it.

Just as no one would tolerate that the vehicle meant to take us from one town to another would entertain itself by taking us for rides along the road. We wouldn't get tired, we wouldn't perform any work; but neither would we reach the end of our journey.

For us, capital presents only one alternative: to fulfill or not fulfill its mission; and in fulfilling it, another: to fulfill it well or poorly. Capital that fulfills poorly and that which does not fulfill will disappear before the needs of the Nation.

That is to say; that selfish parasite who lives in society with his unproductive money, caring nothing about the misery surrounding him or the good he could do for others, and that other who

only takes out his capital to make fabulous deals, even at the cost of amassing his millions with the sweat and tears of his fellow men, must disappear definitively from the national economy.

Our capital must be that from which dead capital and pirate capital have been banished; that is, that which does not fulfill and that which fulfills poorly its mission.

Neither the selfish hoarder of idle money nor the slaver of speculation has a place in the new state of affairs, and against them our State must be inflexible, as it seeks to base its economy on social justice.

We cannot allow:

- A conscience-free banker to ruin entire families and even the State itself in a stock market gamble for his exclusive benefit
- A merchant to raise the prices of his goods by exploiting scarcity
- Those who speculate with misery and need to try to pay lower wages and material costs
- Those who defy justice with their millions
- Those who form with money or influence a state stronger than the State itself
- Those who believe they can create a corporate "trust" to dictate prices and conditions

All this is piracy, it is poorly fulfilling the social function of capital, and although the liberal State tolerated it, denying its right to intervene, perhaps to avoid intervening against itself, dismantling all its absurd machinery, the new social State must:

- Destroy it
- Sweep it away
- Make it disappear

It is not the good of the few, but the good of all that the new State must achieve, and of course when we speak of the good of all we mean that:

- All must possess the minimum for their lives
- All must have a home to live in
- All must have land to cultivate
- All must participate in the enterprise where they work

In a word; that all must be rich, calling rich not he who has excess, but he who lacks nothing, and all this without sinking the capital that knows how to fulfill its mission.

We do not attempt to make a revolution to fall into what even Proudhon called "the religion of poverty."

Here is our program: to make all rich; in opposition to the program of suppressing capital, which consists in making all poor.

This is the Falangist concept of capital. Now then, what is the Marxist one?

Capital, say Marx and Engels (4), "is property that exploits wage labor."
This is nonsense, because then neither dead capital nor pirate capital would qualify as capital, since the former doesn't employ labor and in the latter it's not the lender or shareholder who employs it, but rather the borrower - who according to Marx would thus be the only capitalist.

That is to say, by this definition, a shoemaker with an apprentice would be more of a capitalist than a loan shark, and a farmer bent over his land from dawn to dusk more than a city banker.

Everything depends on how many wage workers each employs. What a petty effort to view everything solely from the proletarian perspective.

The second characteristic to examine is the hierarchy of capital. There are three arms of wealth, as we've seen: labor, property and capital; or as we said earlier: the beginning, end and means of the entire productive process.

The first is the creative effort that generates wealth; the second is the enjoyment of wealth already created; and capital is the means placed at the service of that labor to achieve that property.

Thus its true category is that of a "servant" of production. What then do political parties mean when they say capital and labor must be harmonized? Because this is a meaningless phrase - or rather, a mathematical absurdity.

Arithmetic teaches us that heterogeneous quantities cannot be added. What would be the sum of 20 oranges and 50 potatoes? Of 30 kilograms and 16 liters?

Well then, to harmonize is to unite, to sum, and capital and labor are diametrically heterogeneous things.

Labor is a human function. Capital is an instrument. How can they be harmonized, when one represents the height of dignity - that almost divine human dignity of God's creation - while the other is merely an instrument created by man to serve him, and not even with some essential transcendental function, but as a secondary one?

"It's as if one were to say: I'm going to harmonize myself with this chair" (5).

There's the same difference between capital and labor as between a chair and a man. Capital and chairs are instruments created by and for man, and can never become equal to or greater than man.

Perhaps they mean that property and labor should be harmonized. That indeed makes sense - the two have equal stature, equal dignity, equal function, they are homogeneous.

We can go further: we can say this harmony should involve capital's participation.

Indeed; capital was created to serve as a bridge, a link between labor and property; but "to serve labor and property," not "to replace labor or property."

Labor and property are human attributes and can benefit man. Capital isn't a commodity to be hoarded for exclusive benefit, but a production instrument. Therefore one cannot live off capital, but must produce with capital.

"What does it mean to harmonize capital with labor? Labor is a human function, just as property is a human attribute; but property is not capital.

Capital is an economic instrument, and as such must serve the entire economy. Capital reservoirs, like water reservoirs, weren't built so a few could organize regattas on the surface, but to regulate river flow and power hydroelectric turbines" (6).

But this doesn't mean capital could disappear or become completely irrelevant. Not at all.

If we want to produce - though we can't equate capital and labor (and thus harmonize them) - we can't do without either one.

We'd grown too accustomed to hearing Marxists claim without astonishment that labor (and exclusively manual labor at that) is the sole factor of production.

Very well. Place a man without tools or economic organization working in a vacuum, and tell me when he'll be able to produce even a single sheet of paper. They'll say this is absurd: that labor must be applied to something and upon something.

Very well; that "something" is capital.

In other words:

- Capital by itself does not produce wealth, because it lacks the transformative power of labor.
- Nor does labor alone produce wealth, because it is energy and requires material elements—that is, capital—to create products, which are matter.

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(1) Of course, capital is susceptible to private appropriation; moreover: it is a true and legitimate form of private property. But it is property with a special characteristic: by its intrinsic nature, its purpose is to produce. That is to say, among property or wealth generally conserved, we distinguish two classes: what we might call dynamic property (which we term capital) and what we might call static property (which we simply term property).
(2) Homer says that the armor of Diomedes cost nine oxen and a half, and that of Glaucus, one hundred oxen.
(3) By interest one may understand:

1. *The product of an activity in which money has been employed.*
2. *The percentage charged for money loaned to a third party.*

Now then; the latter and not the former is the meaning of self-generated interest, and in this sense we say that interest, in its self-generation - that is, as such interest - is illicit, because by its

intrinsic nature money is sterile. This does not mean we deny that as compensation for risk it may be licit, as we shall see in Chapter XVIII.
It is to express this illicit form of interest that we employ the word "lucre."
(4) Communist Manifesto.
(5) José Antonio. Lecture of April 9, 1935, at the Mercantile Union Circle, Madrid.
(6) José Antonio. Lecture of March 3, 1935, in Valladolid, on Spain and Barbarism.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CAPITALISM

We have spoken of private property and its true magnitude, and we have said that property which fulfills its mission is sacred. We have also spoken of capital and its function as a bridge and vehicle, and we have likewise stated that, within this function, it has a reason to exist.

Now we will discuss capitalism, and let us begin by declaring unequivocally that we are "implacably anti-capitalist" (1), that we "repudiate the capitalist system" (2), and precisely because "we are anti-capitalist as defenders of private property and enemies of Marxism" (3).

But what do we mean by capitalism? "At the very least, we have the right to demand (says Father Cathrein) that those who condemn capitalism wholesale tell us what they understand by capitalism" (4).

Well then; etymologically, capitalism derives from *capital*, but this etymology does not align with its current social meaning. Today, capitalism is not a system based on the existence of capital (otherwise, we would have no issue being capitalists), just as Prussianism, militarism, mercantilism, etc., no longer mean systems based on Prussia, the military, or commerce, but rather imply a more universal sense of excess, dominance, and abuse.

Consider socialism, whose meaning is entirely divorced from its etymological roots: no one would call themselves a socialist merely for studying social issues.

Capitalism is the antithesis of Marxism, but both commit the same error. Indeed, Marxism and capitalism, equally materialist, view production in a partial manner: while Marxism denies capital's role in production, claiming the worker as the sole producer and thus the sole owner of profits, capitalism denies labor's function, asserting that capital alone is the producer and rightful claimant of those profits.

The former believes capital is a bourgeois invention to dispossess the worker; the latter reduces the worker to mere raw material—a purchased effort with no rights beyond wages.

We, however, recognize that production stems from the combined effort of enterprise, technical skill, and labor. Thus, the profits generated—after paying capital its interest, the technician their salary, and the worker their wage—cannot belong solely to the entrepreneur *or* the worker, but must be shared among all three elements of production.

This is why we, as anti-Marxists, declare ourselves anti-capitalist for the same reason.

But we have also said we are anti-capitalist because we defend private property—and indeed, capitalism diverts private property into anonymous speculation.

For example:

- When industries are founded not to produce, but to be parceled into anonymous shares for speculation.
- When money is used not for commerce, but for usury, profiting from others' labor.
- When landowners abandon the fields for city comforts, shirking obligations while living off peasants' toil.

Thus, industrial, commercial, and agrarian capital degenerate into capitalism.

By its nature, capitalism has two equally fatal and bastard traits:

1. **Dehumanizes private property**, replacing the human proprietor with a paper title.
2. **Enthrones money over labor**, transforming capital from a productive tool into the *sole* producer.

In the previous chapter, we said capitalism converts the money cycle into: "I lend, you work, I profit." Here, the worker and lender are distinct—capitalism excludes labor and the property derived from it.

When man abuses property to become a capitalist, he replaces concrete ownership (factories, shops, land) with anonymous shares (industrial capitalism), credit (commercial capitalism), or fiefdoms (5) (agrarian capitalism).

In this system:

- The capitalist does not work—others do.
- The capitalist bears no obligations—others do.
- The true "owner" is not a person, but an abstraction: "portable scraps of paper" (6).

Capitalism is the shift from owning *things* to owning *rights*—not to produce goods, but to profit from others' labor. Thus, property and capitalism are wholly distinct, though right and left conflate them—the right to defend capitalism, the left to attack property.

"The right (as it is, not as it should be) seeks to preserve an unjust economic order; the left seeks to overthrow it, even at the cost of destroying what is good. Both disguise their aims with spiritual rhetoric" (7).

But National Syndicalism distinguishes clearly.

"You are right (Fernández Cuesta told the right-wing parties) to defend private property—*if* it represents effort, sacrifice, and contribution to the common good: homes maintained, land cultivated, tools used in fruitful enterprises. Not speculative property—not the hoarder's, usurer's, or lender's property, where rootless men amass credit titles to dominate true workers and legitimate owners" (8).

The difference is plain. Property requires two elements: **man-owner** and **thing-owned**.

"Property is man's direct projection onto things" (9), said José Antonio.

"It is where man stamps his likeness, as on farmland" (10), said Leo XIII.

Thus, property involves man, thing, and their bond. Capitalism lacks both man and bond—it is not property.

Capitalism is a "masonry of money." As the mason hides behind ritual, the capitalist hides behind titles to impose his will anonymously.

The nominal proprietor becomes a scapegoat—bearing all blows, even from workers who mistake him for their oppressor. In truth, *both* are victims of the capitalist.

The proprietor toils sunup to sundown, but "of three seeds he reaps: one to replant, one to pay laborers, and one for the usurer" (11). He keeps only obligations—the capitalist keeps all rights.

And they call *him* the exploiter!

"When I see employers and workers killing each other in the streets, I think: neither realizes they are actors in an economic struggle where they are *on the same side*. The true adversary is financial capitalism" (12).

Capitalism is cruel, exploitative, anti-Christian, and inhuman. It attacks property and feeds on the masses' sweat—oppressing both employer and worker. For what? Not humanity's welfare, but the capitalist's.

National Syndicalism says: **"It is intolerable that vast masses live in misery while a few enjoy luxury"** (13).

At the global crisis' peak, 40,000 millionaires held half the world's wealth—more than a billion people combined (14).

Capitalism must disappear. But how?

"Capitalist hypertrophy can end only two ways: by heroic intervention even from its beneficiaries, or by catastrophic revolution that burns not just capitalism but culture itself. We prefer dismantling to burning—the former salvages what is sound" (15).

Thus, we must dismantle capitalism's machinery—studying its two main components: industrial and financial capital. (Agrarian capitalism we will address separately in *Agrarian Revolution*.)

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(1) José Antonio. Speech of May 19, 1935, at Cine Madrid.

(2) Point 10.
(3) R. Fernández Cuesta. Rally in Oviedo, May 1935.
(4) P. Cathrein: Catholicism and Socialism.
(5) Let us not confuse the modern popular sense of (economic) fiefdom with the organic sense of medieval (political) feudalism.
(6) José Antonio. Lecture of April 9, 1935 at the Mercantile Union Circle, Madrid.
(7) José Antonio. Speech of October 29, 1933 at Teatro de la Comedia, Madrid.
(8) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Speech of November 17, 1935 at Cine Madrid.
(9) José Antonio. Speech of May 19, 1935 at Cine Madrid.
(10) Encyclical Rerum Novarum.
(11) Manuel Mateo. Rally in Mota de Cuervo, June 1935.
(12) José Antonio. Lecture at the Mercantile Union Circle, Madrid.
(13) Point 12.
(14) Article about capitalism in Arriba, July 4, 1935 issue.
(15) José Antonio. Speech in Cáceres, January 1936.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

Industrial capital is formed by the accumulation of work tools. In the beginning, this capital held no importance because the tools were cheap, and the hoe, the hammer, the chisel belonged to and served the workers. There was, therefore, no industrial capitalism.

But then came the invention of machinery in the 18th century, and the social landscape was completely transformed. The machine was extremely costly and could not be purchased by the worker. On the other hand, the philosophical revolution and individualism, by dismantling the guilds, made it so that the guilds couldn't buy them either.

And so the capitalist was born—that is, the gentleman who, protected by the rights granted to him by liberalism, discovered a magnificent way to live without working: buying the machines, setting up the factories, and (instead of partnering with the workers to operate them as in the old days and taking charge himself) imposing wages and creating the joint-stock company, thus making himself doubly powerful: both master and invisible. Indeed, with wages he didn't have to share profits. He bought the worker's labor, and by paying them a wage, whether good or bad, he kept the production for himself. With wages, he was the sole producer. With the "joint-stock and limited liability company," he rid himself of the responsibilities and obligations of true owners, since instead of being the owner of the factory, he was now merely the owner of shares—and shares had only rights.

Industrial capitalism, in summary, attacked the workers and attacked property. Let's examine this separately—or rather, let's study only the replacement of industrial property by joint-stock companies, since we've already examined the substitution of the guild system by wage labor in previous chapters, and let's use an example to see it more clearly.

If we look at workshops, factories, and industries where the owner is "Don Fulano de Tal" (or several "Don Fulanos"), we see that these owners, whether called masters or bosses, have very clear identities and well-defined properties—that is, "their direct projections": everyone knows them, and even the worker knows what their rights and duties are. These are true properties (though this isn't to say they're without their flaws, such as the liberal wage system, the abuse of machinery, etc.).

By contrast, in large enterprises, in capitalist trusts, the owner isn't a person but the joint-stock company, the social capital, the bundle of shares. Here, the man isn't the direct owner of the thing but merely the temporary owner of a portion of the capital. The direct owner isn't, as before, "Don Fulano de Tal," but the bearer share—whoever that bearer may be. His duties are no longer, as before, absolute, but limited in liability. That is, from the social cycle of industrial property, where there were only three factors—owner, thing, worker—we've moved to the social cycle of industrial capitalism, where the word "owner" has been diluted into other vague and impersonal terms: shareholders, social capital, enterprise.

But why are we anti-capitalist? What's wrong with erasing the proprietor's identity? Socially, it's a huge problem: the farther the owner is from the worker, the more obstacles there are between the man-owner and the man-worker, the harder it is for them to harmonize and the deeper the class divisions become—and consequently, the more bitter their struggles. This we cannot tolerate, we who say: "Our regime will make class struggle materially impossible" (1).

But morally, there's an even greater problem: with men estranged from one another, with one indifferent to the other's needs, with the sacred bond of property's patriarchal mission broken, only the bond of capitalism remains—the bond of ambition to make money produce money, to transform capital from an element of production into an element of speculation. And here begins the battle that has brought us to the world's current state.

The shareholder doesn't care about the worker, whom he's never even met, nor about his misery, nor his despair: he cares about his shares (that they keep rising in value), he cares about his dividends (that they keep growing), and so he won't go to the factory to see how production happens, but to the Stock Exchange to see how shares are trading. He won't go to board meetings to see how his brothers are being treated, but to study balance sheets and pressure the company to yield more and more, even if it means squeezing his fellow men.

For his part, the worker doesn't care about the shareholder, whom he's never seen by his side, nor about the company, which he sees only as the shareholder's proxy, and so he has no interest in the company producing more or better, since this production will only swell the pockets of the anonymous and hated shareholder. He cares only about getting higher wages and fewer hours, and to get them he declares strikes and sabotages, even at the risk of destroying the company and himself. And so we have class struggle again.

Industrial capitalism thus leads inexorably to social ruin. This is why "we repudiate the capitalist system, because it ignores the needs of the people, distorts private property, and herds workers into vast masses prone to misery and despair" (2).

Is the definition of industrial capitalism clear? Are its ravages clear? If these two points are sufficiently clarified, only the third remains—that is, "the dismantling of the capitalist edifice," as José Antonio called it.

"This is for now the most difficult dismantling, because industry doesn't rely solely on capital for its credit needs, but because the capitalist system has infiltrated the very structure of industry. Industry, for now, due to its immense complexity, due to the vast array of instruments it requires, needs the support of diverse assets, the formation of large pools of economic resources under the legal framework of the joint-stock company. Anonymous capital becomes the titular owner of the business, replacing the human owners of old enterprises. If industrial capitalism were to be dismantled abruptly at this moment, no effective solution would yet exist for the constitution of industry, and this would immediately cause a severe collapse" (3).

But one thing is certain: because it is unjust, capitalism must disappear, and so the only choice left to our prudence is the pace at which to proceed. Moreover, "since God is on our side, it turns out that in Spain there's hardly any industrial capitalism to dismantle, because very little exists,

and in the little that does exist, by lightening certain burdens—such as lavish boards of directors, the plurality of firms for similar services, and the abusive issuance of free shares—our modest industry would regain all its agility and could weather this transitional period relatively well" (4).

Other principles for capitalist reform are found in Onésimo Redondo's manifesto to the Spanish people (5): "Control of profits in large joint-stock companies. Reduction of interest rates and excessive salaries."

In summary: although our work is a theoretical, not practical, study of the social situation, and so we won't provide a complete legislative project for dismantling industrial capitalism, we will mark some points that could serve as milestones for the pace of dismantling we've mentioned:

1. State control.
2. Abolition of free shares and exorbitant board salaries.
3. Limitation of shareholder profits.
4. Use of a portion of the savings thus obtained to buy back (through lottery amortization) shares in circulation from major shareholders.
5. Transfer of these repurchased shares to the relevant Syndicate.
6. Creation of worker shareholding for labor's participation in company profits—that is, using worker profits to buy back shares from major capitalists, distributing them as shares rather than cash.
7. Finally, as the most essential measure: application of new legislation to joint-stock and limited liability companies, ensuring that if they persist, they do so without the vices of capitalism, preventing "at all costs the abuse of one partial interest over another and anarchy in labor relations" (6).

In other words: transform selfish, hoarding, cruel capitalism into wealth whose "primary purpose (as our State will affirm) is to improve the living conditions of all who make up the people. It is intolerable that vast masses live in misery while a few enjoy every luxury" (7).

By placing the major capitalist's shares in the Syndicate's hands, the operation of industry isn't harmed—it would merely change owners. But the advantage is that this owner, by not being individual and anonymous but collective and concrete, wouldn't fall into the vices of capitalism.

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(1) Point 11.
(2) Point 10.
(3) José Antonio. Speech of November 17, 1933, at Cine Madrid.
(4) José Antonio. Speech of November 17, 1933, at Cine Madrid.
(5) How National Syndicalist Justice Would Have Operated After Defeating the Revolution, October 1931.
(6) Point 11.
(7) Point 12.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

FINANCIAL CAPITALISM

Financial capitalism is that which transforms money from an element of exchange into an element of profit. That is, it dedicates money (financial capital) not to its characteristic commercial function, but to speculative functions and self-generation of interest. We have spoken sufficiently about this capitalism and therefore consider it adequately defined; but should any doubt remain, let us examine an example that José Antonio himself provided (1):

"Imagine a place where people regularly play some difficult game: in this match, all participants exert their skill, ingenuity, and effort. Until one day a more cautious observer arrives and says: 'Perfect, here some win and some lose; but both winners and losers need this table and these chips to play.' So then, for a pittance, I buy the table and chips, rent them to the players, and thus profit every afternoon."

"This person, who without risk, effort, or skill profits from renting the chips - this is financial capitalism."

Initially, this lending activity (speculative and usurious) was the domain of Jews and subject to public condemnation. But over time, the entire world seemed to turn Jewish; Banks were founded, and these Banks, which emerged from commercial necessity and convenience, soon made credit operations one of their principal businesses - or rather, the most scandalous of businesses.

Indeed; they gradually attracted savings (passbooks, account books, etc.) and floating money (current accounts) by offering modest interest, then used these enormous accumulated sums for lending.

But where lies the illicit business? Credit is necessary for production. The farmer needs it to sow, the merchant to place orders, the industrialist to complete construction - all require money to reach profitability. Moreover, nothing better utilizes idle savings than this financial function.

True; but Banks treated it not as a financial function, but as a financial business. They paid 1.5% or 2% to some, while charging others 7% or 8%. The most intolerable aspect wasn't this enormous spread, but that this profit from money-handling went neither to the modest savers (the actual lenders) nor to the merchants, industrialists, or farmers desperately seeking credit to continue their productive labors - but rather to Bank shareholders, to those who for a pittance bought the table and chips, and for that pittance presumed to live off others' savings and labor.

This is what the Falange has often called "the Banking shark," and this is what must be inexorably erased.

Lending at 8% may benefit the lender (not the worker), but when this profit goes not even to the money's owner, but to the banker-intermediary, the business becomes armed robbery.

It's outrageous. While savings remain exposed to Bank failures from fantastical ventures that could impoverish thousands of modest families overnight. While honest workers must sweat doubly to bear crushing loan burdens. The banking capitalist has discovered how not just to live without working, not just to live off others' labor, but even to profit from others' money.

Therefore, we must implement two financial capital reforms:

1. Eliminate intermediaries
2. Make credit cheaper

Credit must be cheap; it is aid, not business. Moreover, interest on money is inherently illicit. Accepting it without reservations would be tantamount to recognizing that money can produce money by itself, thus relieving those with sufficient money to lend from the divine obligation to work, allowing them to live off others' labor.

All sociologists advocate "interest-free loans." From Plato, who considered it a friendly and therefore gratuitous act, to Proudhon who proposed a system for making capital freely available to all (1), through Saint Luke (2) and the canonists and scholastics, with their doctrine similar to Aristotle's: "money bears no fruit by itself nor generates anything." Therefore, it is illicit and unjust to accept anything beyond the principal as payment, since this surplus comes not from sterile money but from others' labor." Another scholastic argument, revived by Böhm-Bawerk (3), considers interest as a "price of time," though in reality it's charged merely for time elapsed, as if time were the lender's private property.

Yet loans are essential for wealth development and irreplaceable for labor. If we eliminate interest, we practically eliminate lending. How then to solve this problem?

We accept interest, not as such, but as fair compensation. However, given the potential for subjective interpretation that could degenerate into usury, we conclude only the State should lend.

"As currently structured, economic machinery requires credit:

1. Someone must supply accepted credit instruments for transactions
2. Someone must bridge the period between production's start and completion
   But this could be transformed so that managing economic credit instruments becomes the mission of the entire economic community through its proper instrument - the State" (1).

National Syndicalism therefore organizes credit thus: it establishes a National Credit Bank (possibly the Bank of Spain itself). This bank alone may maintain current accounts, savings books, etc. - in short, the sole institution authorized to pool funds for lending capital.

We distinguish two fund categories: current accounts and small savings. Current accounts further divide into commercial floating funds and idle money deposits. National Syndicalism will differentiate between active workers' money and idle rich's money (accumulated through abundance and apathy).

For current accounts, the State (as custodian) will pay no interest. Previously, banks used interest as bait to attract clients and prevent fund transfers to competitors. This was absurd, as it rewarded idle money - creating capitalism, since many settled for small but secure interest rather than making their money fulfill its social mission.

Small savings are entirely different. Savings crystallize human effort, and National Syndicalism considers them so sacred that no support seems sufficient. The National Credit Bank will pay interest on these funds as reward and incentive.

"We aim to be anything but one thing: Praetorian guards of high Finance. But where Spain's labor and suffering exist, there we want to be" (2).

In summary, we've stated that all deposited money will form the lending pool. To this lending pool will come the Syndical Credit Banks (agricultural, commercial or industrial) - branches of the National Bank responsible for lending to corresponding Syndicates, which in turn will lend to union members at low interest, even accepting payment in kind for agricultural cases.

Finally, one key feature of these Syndical Banks will be small loans with moral guarantees. Until now, all credit required economic guarantees (even personal loans ultimately demanded economic security, as they only served those with recognized solvency). That is, until today one needed to be rich or have rich friends to obtain credit.

Our new syndical organization will change this. Loans will go not to those with connections, but to all who demonstrate work ethic, skill and honesty worthy of support and advancement:

• The worker whose talents wither without capital - who with modest funds could start a work shop and become a master craftsman
• The peasant who could transform his home into productive land with a small plot
• The clerk who could open a shop that might flourish into thriving business
• The artist lost for lack of means
• The laborer and student alike

Those first difficult steps! Building something from nothing! This will be National-Syndicalist credit's primary mission.

The Syndicate will become the fairy godmother entering humble homes to say: "Fear not; times have changed. If you're willing, I'll help and guide you. Before, you served money; now money serves you."

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(1) José Antonio. Speech of November 17, 1935, at Cine Madrid.
(1) "The Exchange Bank" and generalized bills of exchange" as termed by W. Oualid in his work Proudhon and Our Time.
(2) "Mutuum date nihil inde sperantes" (Chapter 6, Verse 35). [Latin citation from Luke 6:35: "Lend, hoping for nothing in return"]

(3) History of Interest Theories.
(1) José Antonio. Speech of November 17, 1935, at Cine Madrid.
(2) Rafael Sánchez Mazas. Speech of February 2, 1936, at Cine Europa.

PART THREE

HARMONY IN PRODUCTION

CHAPTER NINETEEN

HARMONY

We have reached the third part of this work. In the first part, we merely presented the competing doctrines. This was essential groundwork—we could hardly engage with the question without first understanding these ideas, lest we swing blindly in the dark.

In the second part, we established the boundaries of true justice for the three elements of production: **Labor, Property, and Capital**.

This would have sufficed had our social order not descended into its current chaos. Had the liberal plague alone swept the earth—the reign of capitalist ambition—it might have been enough. But the Marxist plague has also passed through, the reign of class hatred. To injustice we cannot respond with justice alone; we must also answer hatred. And to hatred, we will respond with **harmony**.

Yet before outlining this harmony, let us first make some preliminary observations in this chapter.

The liberal and Marxist revolutions failed in Spain for two critical reasons:

1. They failed to adapt to the Spanish character.
2. They were inherently unjust.

Consider: we are in Spain, we are Spaniards. We have a character, a way of being, customs, and traditions that make us who we are—and no one else. I ask you:

Did liberalism and Marxism arise to suit this way of being? Or were they at least applied in Spain with adaptation to our character? No. They were imposed as universal remedies for all ills, force-fed to Spaniards in harsh doses.

This is how liberalism entered Spain. But if it didn't adapt to the Spanish character, how did it triumph—and how did Marxists later triumph? Precisely because they were unjust and false; precisely through the opposite of what they claimed.

"Man is naturally good," they said. But they knew this wasn't true, and because they knew it, they didn't appeal to man's goodness—they flattered his worst side: his passions, his hatred, his ambition.

Had their claims been true, their doctrines would never have triumphed in Spain, for they are neither Spanish nor just. But man's base passions and criminal appetites may be unjust, yet they're universal—requiring no adaptation.

That's why they never bothered crafting a Spanish solution.

But we don't come to flatter wickedness. We come to fight vice, corruption, and injustice. How then can we triumph in Spain?

Only one way: by being Spanish, speaking the only Castilian Spaniards understand—the raw, vigorous language drawn from their popular soul, their customs, their way of being, their history; by quarrying that magnificent tradition displaced for centuries by foreign imports.

In short: by doing the opposite of what's been done.

Until now, Spain has been a guinea pig for every doctrine: new and old, native and foreign. A sick man injected serums at random, hoping to stumble on a cure.

We must proceed more logically.

First, study the social situation—the social problem. Then study Spain: its customs, character, and reactions (as a doctor studies both disease and patient). Finally, in accordance with these—with the "disease" and the "patient"—craft not a program of concrete solutions, but of concrete aspirations.

"We'd be just another party if we offered fixed solutions. Such programs have one virtue: they're never fulfilled. But when one has a permanent bearing toward History and life, this bearing itself yields solutions—just as love tells us when to argue and when to embrace, without requiring a schedule of quarrels and caresses" (1).

In short: we must first discover Spain—"our modern Americas" (2)—and its social condition, then forge laws and a revolution reflecting this truth, crystallizing the Spain we've rediscovered.

Thus we ensure success. When Spaniards see themselves in these laws and realize this revolution isn't false but springs from their deepest dreams, they'll know these are their laws, their revolution—and they'll commit as only Spaniards can: with enthusiasm, resolve, and utter abandon.

"Fascism is a foreign phenomenon. I won't analyze its doctrines now, but however admirable, we can't import it like liberalism, Marxism, or Encyclopedism. Tragically, whether by habit or temperament, our people have mimicked others to our misfortune.

If we now copy foreigners too, we'd commit the crime of stifling—through laziness or cowardice—the wellsprings of Hispanic genius, betraying our sages, heroes, and leaders whose memory demands fierce loyalty to all truly Spanish" (3).

Nor will we be National Socialists.

Socialism is mass, monotony, mechanized crowds—why it triumphed in Germany, where people march in lockstep. We'll never stage those grandiose German parades, and if we did, we'd lack their perfect order, timed movements, Prussian rigidity.

In Spain, such spectacles—however impressive—would feel cold. When Spaniards overflow (and they always do when stirred), they can't stand still or silent.

Is this disorder? No. It is a different order - an order in harmony with our fiery blood and intoxicating sun; an order, if you will, like an Arabian colt, but then we have more of the Arabian colt in us than the Percheron draft horse.

"Fascism is not an export product," Mussolini said; and Goebbels said the same of National Socialism (4): "National Socialism is not for export; it carries an exclusive patent reserved for our country."

We too declare that National Syndicalism must be only for Hispanic-culture peoples.

We have our own characteristics: we are neither German, nor Italian, nor Russian; we are Spanish, and therefore our harmony, our solution, must be neither German, nor Italian, nor Russian, but Spanish - drawn from our people, from our vices, from our virtues, molded from the only clay we can choose to shape something Spanish: the clay of our way of being.

"Without having to suffer or tolerate international interference: red, white, or of any kind" (5).

Let us therefore begin studying the components of our national revolution by dividing our study into its two essential parts that respond to the justice and Spanish identity we have proclaimed as fundamental:

1. Characteristics of the Spanish people
2. Basic principles of social justice

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(1) José Antonio. Speech of October 29, 1933 at Teatro de la Comedia, Madrid.
(2) Onésimo Redondo. Speech of May 19, 1935 at Cine Madrid.
(3) Onésimo Redondo. Speech in Valladolid, March 4, 1934.
(4) Nuremberg Congress, September 9, 1937.
(5) Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta. Speech of February 2, 1936 at Cine Europa, Madrid.

CHAPTER TWENTY

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

We shall examine the first component of our revolution: the characteristics of the Spanish people. More precisely, the four most prominent traits: exclusivity, dignity, independence, and patriarchalism. Let us begin with the first.

We assert that exclusivity is a Spanish characteristic. Indeed, can we Spaniards be internationalists? Is Spanish character indistinguishable from that of other nations?

In Russia, the people could embrace communism; they didn't love the land because they didn't know it. For much of the year, Russians were separated from their soil by thick snow, while their vast, monotonous steppes - uniform and harsh - prevented attachment to any particular plot. All was equal; one place mattered as little as another.

But is Spain the same? In this diverse land where every mountain, tree, and river has a distinct flavor that irresistibly draws us - imprinting our retinas and whispering of unforgettable memories - we wish to die beside that specific river, tree, or mountain that witnessed our youth, not some objectively finer place.

Who among Spaniards exiled from home hasn't felt this longing? Can we cease loving Spain?

This bond goes deeper: the land doesn't just attract and attach us; it shapes its inhabitants' character. Spain made us in its image - it made us Spanish. Can we then live here with foreign customs and doctrines?

The Andalusian's joy reflects his radiant, open landscapes; the northerner's melancholy mirrors his leaden skies and misty fields; the austere Castilian embodies his arid plains. Could these traits ever fundamentally change?

But first, consider this clarifying question: Who are the patriarchs of internationalism? Marx, Lenin (1), Trotsky - all stateless, all Jewish. Are we too wandering Jews? Let them continue their nomadic existence; Spain offers them no lodging.

Second, another Spanish trait is pride. Spaniards live more on pride than bread, preferring starvation to humiliation. As even the communist "La Pasionaria" admitted: "We'd rather die on our feet than live on our knees" - a moment when this Russophile propagandist spontaneously felt Spanish.

What does this reveal? That Spaniards aren't materialistic but profoundly spiritual. Why then do foreignizers insist on implanting materialism here? Why do their leaders treat Spanish workers like avaricious Jews?

Give workers bread and comfort, but humiliate them, and they'll hate you. Give it instead with fraternal equality, and even with black, hard, scarce bread - even starving - they'll be eternally grateful.

Otherwise, why were workers never satisfied with their gains? Why did Spanish laborers keep demanding more when they earned better than most clerks and lived better than workers elsewhere? Because they sought not bread but dignity - what they called "equality."

How well Marxism understood that satisfying workers' pride would secure their loyalty! Initially defining "classes" as exploiters versus exploited, Marxists abruptly shifted when realizing their scheme could collapse if exploitation ended. They redefined all employers as exploiters and all workers as exploited - ensuring perpetual hatred and human pride's eternal dissatisfaction. Workers had to remain continuously humiliated to keep them fighting.

"But 'the time has come to reject the fallacy that worker parties must be anti-employer, or that employer groups must oppose workers as adversaries in struggle'" (2).

In Spain - this land of noble souls where a frock coat conceals dignity equal to that under a workman's smock - there can be no Marxist-style materialist class divisions.

The third Spanish characteristic is independence.

"Consider whether you Spaniards, with souls of free men, could tolerate this: The Russian state labors to provide workers with sanitariums for healing, collective farms for rest - yes, it attempts this in some cities. Yet it denies the fundamental freedom to choose one's own repose.

"A Spanish worker could never take his family Sunday picnics in God's grace, for the Russian state - organized like an anthill - forces them into designated rest homes and vacation spots.

"Just imagine the horror of collective dining rooms replacing family hearths! The horror of mandatory, systematic amusement where none truly amuse themselves! This alone would make any Spanish bourgeois or worker shudder" (3).

This independence - fought for from Viriatus to the Mayor of Móstoles, erupting in our defiant "because I feel like it," fueling our quintessential Spanish contrarianism - would vanish under communist automation. Spain would become a nation of soulless men!

We don't advocate individualism. Spain transcends that too. Here, all critique everything, all claim expertise - yet when the Homeland (perhaps through our own faults) teeters on the abyss, individualities dissolve. Only the Quixotic spirit of our race emerges, making Spain triumph and rule anew.

Not the atomizing individualism that fractures nations - Spain embodies the spirit of independence.

The fourth characteristic is patriarchal tendencies.

The family is man's natural unit, but Spaniards instinctively extend this patriarchy to all relationships. In small workshops, industries, and shops untouched by foreign influence, owners (themselves workers) and employees coexist patriarchally.

The owner treats workers as brothers; they reciprocate with devotion, viewing the business as collective property - all members of one family. Only modern capitalism (with its bottomless profit-seeking) and Marxism (with bottomless hatred) - both Jewish solutions - shattered this social family.

Consider American-style department stores: colossal, novel, economical (large commerce underselling small shops inevitably triumphs). Yet they've extinguished the warmth of Spanish shops, replacing our psychological, talkative clerks - who inquired after families, smiled through haggling, made us buy unwanted items gratefully - with standardized "American girls": equally pretty, uniformed, but equally distracted and indifferent (4).

Their indifference springs from severed Spanish spirit. They no longer strive to sell, merely packaging selections and collecting payments. Cash registers, fixed prices, even automatic buttons (matter) have replaced psychology, patriarchy, and goodwill (spirit). They've become mechanical dolls, not essential partners.

Consider our traditional Spanish barbershop as another national relic. What would we feel if, by some enchantment, it suddenly became an American-style barbershop - where one enters on tiptoe to avoid disturbing the work, where the barber isn't a person who discusses politics or bullfighting with us (who knows our name and has his own personality), but a silent mechanical doll working feverishly in complete mutism, as if convinced of his inferiority even to the razor itself?

What would we feel if, upon entering our café or office, we no longer found our usual clerk - the one who greeted us by name each morning - but instead a cold, robotic functionary merely doing his job? We'd say the atmosphere had vanished, that everything typical was disappearing. But in truth, we'd miss something deeper than local color: we'd miss the patriarchy and the familial yearning of the Spanish character.

The same occurs in workshops and industries where harmony depends not on business size but on maintaining the right atmosphere. This harmony breaks not when businesses grow, but when solutions alien to Spain's fundamentally familial character are introduced.

These are the Spanish people's characteristics, and herein lies the problem:

The Spaniard is simplistic - for him, things aren't more or less good, but simply good or bad. "The Spanish people demand their Patron Saints bring rain when needed, and if they fail, turn the statues backward on the altars" (5). This people, who have always risen in arms when goals were clear yet remained indifferent to vague solutions, have sought their revolution for years - but a complete revolution, one filling to the brim their authentically Spanish and Christian soul.

If we want Spaniards' wholehearted support - if we want them to follow us with their tremendous, overwhelming force - we must give them the revolution they demand: one born from the popular soul. Not a foreign revolution nor a half-measure, but a total, national revolution.

This is Spanish clay. Good? Bad? It's Spanish. Therefore, if we want to create something truly national and complete, we must use this clay - not some imported material that, however superior, would always remain alien and artificial.

Thus, any solution to be truly Spanish must be:

1. National
2. Dignified
3. Independent
4. Patriarchal

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(1) Lenin, though Judaizing, was the son of a Jewish mother and "married" to the Jewish Krupskaya, of Tatar origin. Thus, communism became a union of the horde and Judaism.
(2) José Antonio. Speech of May 19, 1935, at the Cine Madrid.
(3) José Antonio. Speech of November 17, 1935, at the Cine Madrid.
(4) Let us recall the Falange's brilliant struggle against the capitalist Judaism of "S.E.P.U."
(5) José Antonio. Speech of May 19, 1935, at the Cine Madrid.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR REVOLUTION

The socioeconomic edifice of liberalism was built on the fundamental principle of free contract - that is, the buying and selling of labor through wages. The socioeconomic edifice of Marxism was built on the fundamental principle of class struggle.

Under liberalism, the worker wasn't an essential but secondary factor of production - a second-class man, so to speak. Under Marxism, employers and workers became irreconcilable enemies.

The liberal employer who purchased a fixed quantity of labor for fixed wages (just as he bought raw materials and machinery) considered himself - after paying wages (like after paying for materials) - the sole producer and thus absolute owner of all profits. His reasoning: just as no one would claim suppliers of materials or machines retained rights over subsequent profits, so too the worker selling his labor forfeited all rights upon receiving wages. In the liberal period, no one questioned whether wages were legitimate - only whether they were sufficient.

Under the Marxist principle, workers formed Trade Unions opposed to employer guilds. These unions no longer served production (which didn't interest workers since profits went exclusively to owners), but rather combat. They massed not in homogeneous productive groups, but in vast fighting formations - imposing armies.

In the Marxist period, no one spoke of eliminating class distinctions, but of exterminating one class entirely.

Finally, there existed a third factor neither liberals nor Marxists properly categorized: the technician.

The liberal employer viewed technicians exactly like workers - as sellers of intellectual labor purchased through salaries. Marxist workers saw technicians as employer allies, including them in their hatred. The poor technician became the fairytale Cinderella.

Meanwhile, as Marxist hatreds and liberal ambitions clashed - with class privileges, strikes and lockouts - as the national economy died, unemployment grew, and misery invaded homes, the nation's leaders devised the strangest solutions to this terrifying social problem.

The Right, steeped in liberal ambition, believed it was a struggle of appetites. They allocated millions to satiate these appetites and solve unemployment.

The Left, imbued with Marxist hatred, removed crucifixes from schools, burned churches, expelled religious orders, and assaulted private property.

Yet the problem remained unsolved, because neither side addressed its root causes - only consequences. Their solutions resembled Ollendorf method examples [rote learning].

Then came National Syndicalism declaring: the liberal and Marxist edifices are collapsing. They stand breached not from age or worm-eaten beams, but because their foundations are false.

This isn't about replacing beams or repairs - it demands demolition. "When the world comes unhinged, technical patches won't suffice: it requires an entirely new order" (1).

We must build a new edifice on new foundations. Classes are a myth; employers, technicians and workers can't form enemy groups because they're inseparable in production. No industry - large or small - can function without enterprise, technical skill, and labor.

Were there intolerable privileges? Exploiters and exploited? Was violence necessary? We agree - shall we condemn violence when public justice systems have failed?

"Dialogue is indeed the first instrument of communication. But when justice or the Fatherland is offended, the only admissible dialectic is that of fists and pistols" (2).

Yet Marxism committed a terrible error by organizing Trade Unions for class struggle. That noble fighting spirit should never have targeted the extermination of an essential productive force (ultimately destroying production itself), but rather the elimination of intolerable privileges and exploitative possibilities - as we propose.

"We oppose socialist revolution not because it's violent, but because it's sterile" (3).

Our Syndicates too are combative, but they "develop their fighting spirit, even rebelliousness, within the nation's interests" (4).

A greater myth than class division is treating human labor as merchandise to be bought and sold. The worker is production's essential element - he doesn't "sell" his labor but "contributes" manual work, thus generating his share of profits just as the manager contributes direction and the technician specialized skills. Each rightfully deserves profit distribution - the worker no less than the technician or employer.

Only necessity forced workers to accept a small but secure portion of profits - which liberalism still contested! This was freedom's cruel sarcasm:

"You're free to work as you choose. None can compel you to accept conditions.
"But as we're the wealthy, we set the terms. You free citizens may refuse - but you paupers will starve surrounded by liberal freedom's grandeur" (5).

Such was society under "liberating creeds."

National Syndicalism observes reality calmly - without Marxist hatred or liberal ambition. Don't we see employers, technicians and workers going to factories, industries and businesses to produce, not fight? That establishing any enterprise requires:

- Capital and organizational work from employers
- Managerial work from technicians
- Manual labor from workers

Without these three constant, active elements, production ceases. Why then class struggle? Where are "classes" when all are equally producers? Why Marxist incitement or liberalism's exclusion of workers (via wages) from rightful profits?

Every factory, industry and shop constitutes a producers' society where each contributes labor. Thus their social/syndical organization should unite employers, technicians and workers of each enterprise as profit-sharing partners - all participating in management and benefits.

This is the truly just solution National Syndicalism will implement.

Each workplace becomes a society:

- Shops with owners and clerks
- Workshops with masters and artisans
- Factories with management, technicians and laborers

Here, owners and workers aren't labor buyers/sellers but productive partners sharing one goal: production.

This syndical organization eliminates strikes and lockouts - neither workers nor employers will sabotage themselves. It ends petty conflicts from lazy workers (formerly protected by unions as professional abusers) - now unwelcome among colleagues invested in productivity.

No mixed juries or parity committees are needed - employers and workers represent common interests, facilitating agreement. A Labor Tribunal will resolve disputes.

Work becomes more pleasant and production improves because:

- Workers view enterprises as their own (being partners)
- Labor intensifies knowing it benefits themselves
- Capital ultimately gains through:
  • Increased productivity
  • Reduced strikes/sabotage costs

Relations change from mutual suspicion to collaborative partnership. Workers receive wages not as full payment, but as profit-share advances - like technicians' salaries and employers' legal interest.

In short: life proceeds without hatred or piracy. Harmony and equality reign. Energy once wasted on exhausting struggles now builds a great, free Fatherland and strong economy.

But we've said solutions must align with Spanish character. Before detailing syndical organization, let's verify whether our Syndicates' founding spirit matches Spain's way of being.

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(1) José Antonio. Speech in Valladolid on "Spain and Barbarism," March 3, 1935.
(2) José Antonio. Speech of October 29, 1933, at the Teatro de la Comedia.
(3) Manuel Mateo. Rally in Daimiel, March 24, 1935.
(4) Raimundo Fernández-Cuesta. Lecture of April 15, 1935, at F.E.
(5) José Antonio. Rally at the Teatro de la Comedia, October 29, 1933.

CHAPTER TWENTY- TWO

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN OUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND OUR CHARACTERISTICS

In the previous chapter, we examined the fundamental principles of our revolution, and in the one before that, the characteristics of the Spanish people. Let us now see how these two components align.

The first characteristic was nationalism, and indeed our revolution does not aspire to be universal. Unlike liberalism, Marxism, etc., which claim to be solutions for all ills, our revolution is national in its origin, purpose, and essence.

By its origin, as we have seen, it springs from the soul of the people. For this reason, it would not take root among peoples of different psychology—but for this same reason, it must serve as the binding force of our future empire.

Beyond our borders, there are peoples with different names, yet they remain Spanish: Spanish in speech and action, Spanish in their nobility, their independent spirit, and their familial bonds.

Our future empire, as we have said, will not be built by dismantling physical borders but by erasing spiritual ones. There will still be territories with distinct names, but they will share the same sentiment, the same measure, the same organization. This organization, this measure, and this sentiment—which will unite all Hispanic peoples as distinct bodies with the same soul—will be National Syndicalism, the marvelous filter that makes all peoples beat in unison.

By its purpose, National Syndicalism is also national. It strives for social justice, yes, but also for the exaltation of the Fatherland. It is syndicalist, but first and foremost, it is national. It does not merely focus on social demands, as Marxism does, but prioritizes national restoration.

"First, the restoration of a collective national spirit; then, the establishment of a material and human foundation for coexistence among Spaniards" (1).

*"They present the achievement of proletarian demands as incompatible with a national policy that exalts Spain—its greatness, the pride of its past, and the desire for a better future.

Well then, the Falange seeks to harmonize these demands, because it believes they are perfectly reconcilable. We do not understand why proletarian demands should be defended solely by left-wing parties, as if they held a lifelong monopoly on them—just as we do not see why patriotism should be the exclusive domain of right-wing parties.

And we are certain that when this harmony is achieved between the two factors—social justice on one side and national sentiment on the other—we will have taken a giant step toward uniting all Spaniards"* (2).

By its essence, our syndicalism is also national. Our Syndicates are an integral part of the Nation.

"The Syndicates are professional brotherhoods, guilds of workers, but at the same time, they are vertical organs within the structure of the State. In fulfilling their humble daily tasks, their members know they are living and indispensable organs in the body of the Fatherland" (3).

In the National Syndicalist State, the Syndicates are both Syndicates and the Nation itself—just as the trees of a forest are individual trees and yet collectively form the forest.

The second Spanish characteristic is dignity, and National Syndicalism secures this dignity by eliminating the two main obstacles in its Syndicates: class division and the buying and selling of labor.

Can there still be classes of exploiters and exploited once social justice removes the possibility of exploitation?

If capital receives its legal interest, the technician his salary, and the worker his wage—and all then share in the profits proportionally to their contribution to production—who can be called the exploiter, and who the exploited?

Will classes still be defined by those who wear shoes and those who wear sandals?

National Syndicalism erases class distinctions with a single stroke. Are they not all producers? Then there are no classes. National Syndicalism declares:

1. All (employers, technicians, and workers) are equally indispensable in production.
2. As equally indispensable, all are equally inseparable.
3. As indispensable and inseparable, all are equally important.

To truly achieve this equality, we must abolish the buying and selling of labor—one of the firmest tenets of liberal economics.

The worker, paid only a wage, felt humiliated, diminished, and alienated from the enterprise's success. His human pride—and above all, his Spanish pride (unlike the Russian, who does not revolt over this)—rebelled at being treated like raw materials or machinery.

He did not know what right he had, but he sensed he deserved more than what was allotted to him. Moreover, his honesty and dignity told him he could not attain this right through theft (the Marxist solution) or through crumbs (the liberal solution).

National Syndicalism resolved this dilemma. The worker is of equal moral standing to the employer and the technician. The worker is not a seller of his labor but a productive partner, as we have said. Accepting this principle, we can accept neither wage labor nor class theory.

"In a future development—one that may seem revolutionary but is in fact ancient, echoing the structure of Europe's old guilds—labor will no longer be alienated as a commodity, nor will the

bilateral relationship of work persist. Instead, all who contribute to the task, all who shape and complete the national economy, will be organized into vertical Syndicates" (4).

"These Syndicates will relieve the State of numerous economic functions, assuming them while debureaucratizing the economy and ultimately abolishing wage labor through equitable profit-sharing among all productive factors" (5).

This doesn't mean absolute equality in all aspects (socially yes, technically no). Professional hierarchies will remain: man has both head and feet - the head directs, the feet walk. No one would claim heads and feet are equal, yet both are equally essential for walking.

Social equality exists because all are equally dignified, equally noble as God's children - "bodily vessels of souls capable of salvation or damnation" (6). But technical inequalities persist through professional hierarchies. Not all possess equal intellectual or physical aptitudes; some become managers, others technicians or laborers.

"We defend equality before work - an equality that doesn't exclude ranks, hierarchies and categories, provided they're earned through personal effort and ability" (7).

The third Spanish characteristic is independence. Spaniards instinctively bond with immediate coworkers and neighbors, rarely seeking friendships beyond their workshop or district. This creates tight-knit, autonomous guild-like "peñas" (groups).

Why then do Marxists organize massive Unions amalgamating all workers in a trade across cities or nations? Because their class struggle dogma requires colossal force. But National Syndicalism, eliminating classes, needs no artificial structures - only natural ones beginning with independent workplace units.

A factory's operation doesn't depend on others in its sector. Just as assembling separate fireboxes, pistons and wheels from multiple locomotives won't make one function, neither will grouping unfamiliar workers. Each enterprise is like a locomotive - self-contained yet coordinated.

National Syndicalism starts Syndicates where workers share roofs, struggles and aspirations - like ship crews or travel companions. These industrial Syndicates later unite with analogous ones up to the Syndical Chamber, but for national rather than private interests.

Previously, one factory's dismissal triggered strikes across industries. Marxist organization bred dependence for combat. Now, workers aren't interchangeable parts but integral to enterprises - their welfare tied to the company's.

The fourth characteristic is patriarchalism. Spain's syndical ancestry lies in guilds - workshops where masters worked alongside men. The syndical family: owners and laborers united.

But are we reverting to medieval guilds? Why not? Guilds fell to liberal triumph (8) - first unified by the Catholic Monarchs (Toledo 1488), then killed by the Cádiz Cortes (1813). Marxism's partisan syndicates finished them (9).

Is there technical incompatibility preventing guild adaptation to modern industry? None. Neither capitalism nor communism ever operated industries without management, technicians and labor. If only class prejudice and liberal license oppose it - which we reject - why not readopt Spain's natural model?

Why deem distant factory workers "brothers" while branding coworkers as enemies? National Syndicalism recognizes no classes - only producers. Thus:

"We must form vertical, national Syndicates. Not exclusive worker/owner Unions serving class interests, but organizations uniting those with shared productive interests - for proletarians often share more with their industry's capitalists than with rival industry's workers" (10).

In summary: National Syndicalism builds Syndicates reflecting Spanish character. The vertical Syndicate - our primary syndicalist cell - is:

NATIONAL, because it no longer constitutes an external organization, but rather forms an integral part of the Nation.

DIGNIFIED, because with class distinctions erased, there remain only producers; and with the buying and selling of labor abolished, there remain only equal partners in the enterprise, all sharing the same social dignity.

INDEPENDENT, because with class struggle eliminated, there will be no need for massive syndical groups pursuing sheer force (which no longer matters), but rather specialized groups focused on optimal production—that is, each factory, each enterprise, each industry as its own unit.

PATRIARCHAL, because it unites in a single Syndicate the employers, technicians, and workers of the same enterprise, all bound together by their shared interest in production.

Thus, our revolution—born from the reality of things and aligned with the characteristics of the Spanish people—must be the revolution Spain has awaited: the true Spanish revolution.

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(1) José Antonio. Speech of May 19, 1935, at the Cine Madrid.
(2) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Speech of February 2, 1936, at the Cine Europa.
(3) José Antonio. Lecture of January 28, 1935, at the F.E. headquarters on "State, Individual, and Liberty."
(4) José Antonio. Lecture at the Círculo de la Unión Mercantil, April 9, 1935.
(5) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Lecture of April 15, 1935, at the F.E. Center.
(6) José Antonio. Rally at the Teatro de la Comedia, October 29, 1933.
(7) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Lecture of April 15, 1935, at the F.E. Center.

(8) The mortal blow to the guilds was struck by the French Revolution with the proclamation of freedom of labor. The Cortes of Cádiz on June 8, 1813, did nothing more than copy the French spirit, even though they called themselves anti-French Cortes.
(9) Despite everything, Louis Blanc (History of the French Revolution) acknowledges that "the sentiment of fraternity gave rise, in the time of Saint Louis, to communities of merchants and artisans, which attended to the protection of the weak with the most tender solicitude."
(10) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Lecture of April 15, 1935, at the F.E. headquarters.

CHAPTER TWENTY- THREE

SYNDICAL ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAL SYNDICALISM

Having examined the basic principles of syndicalist organization, its logical structure is as follows (1):

1. SYNDICAL CELLS

These are individual or grouped productive societies. In large industries, businesses, etc., each factory, enterprise, or major store—in short, each productive unit—forms a syndical cell comprising the three producer groups (employers, technicians, and workers), all sharing in management and profits.

In small industries, workshops, shops, etc., a guild-like grouping is first established (since most lack technical staff, reducing the enterprise to the employer, who is essentially another worker). These local units form the corresponding syndical cell or brotherhood.

2. TRADE SYNDICATES

All syndical cells in a given area unite to form trade syndicates. These, combined with successive trades in the same production chain, create the **vertical syndicate**.

3. INTEGRAL SYNDICATES

All vertical syndicates within a sector (e.g., bakers, glassmakers) merge into **integral syndicates**.

4. NATIONAL SYNDICATES

All integral syndicates of an industrial sector form the **national industrial syndicate**, while agricultural integral syndicates form the **national agricultural syndicate**.

5. SYNDICAL CHAMBER

Representatives from each national syndicate (industry, agriculture, services, etc.) constitute the **Syndical Chamber**—the governing body of the national economy.

The National Syndicalist State is like a great tree sheltering us. Its roots lie in national soil; its sap is our national spirit and syndicates; its branches provide shade. Yet these branches cannot exist without sap or if the trunk splits. Thus, the trunk is not merely the tree's support—it *is* the tree itself.

This clarifies a key point: National Syndicalism is not a political form independent of its syndicates, just as branches cannot exist without a trunk. Spain will neither adopt Italy's dual system

(where Fascism and corporatism operate separately) nor liberalism's frivolous prioritization of political representation over productive life (trades, syndicates, families, municipalities).

In Spain, all will be one. This does not mean syndicates will govern the nation entirely (National Syndicalism ≠ mere syndicalism). While National Syndicalism shapes the State holistically, syndicalism alone addresses socio-economic matters. For instance, the Syndical Chamber cannot decide military operations—that would replicate liberal parliamentarianism's absurdity.

Those claiming the Syndical Chamber "kills" parliamentarianism are mistaken. It doesn't kill it; it *buries* it. Killing implies ending life, but parliamentarianism was already lifeless—its "activity" reeked of decay. Public hygiene demanded its interment.

What is Vertical Industrial Organization?

In short: **the natural order of industry**.

Consider a man founding a fish-salting business. If successful, he might expand by opening another salting enterprise. Yet he remains dependent on fishermen, transporters, and merchants—risking multiplied losses if any link fails. His solution? Vertical integration: becoming fisherman, industrialist, *and* merchant to control the entire chain.

This logic applies universally. Steel mills secure mines and shipping lines to transport ingots; to expand further, they add rolling mills to sell sheets/wire directly, bypassing intermediaries.

This chain—from raw materials (fishermen/miners) to consumers—is **vertical organization**. Historically, early industry operated this way: one individual mined, smelted, forged, and sold. Guilds were inherently vertical.

But machinery and liberal individualism shattered this cohesion, creating **horizontal production**: disjointed, anarchic links. Under guilds, mining met smelting demands, smelting met forging needs, and forging met consumption. Now, each link produces indiscriminately, "solving" overproduction with competition and scarcity with inflation.

By returning to vertical organization, we restore logic: **the guild**.

SYNDICAL ORGANIZATION IN PRACTICE: THE WHEAT EXAMPLE

While this book focuses on theoretical orientation rather than practical implementation (more doctrine than legislation), we will illustrate our syndical model through Spain's wheat production.

Currently, wheat cultivation is highly fragmented. Nearly every farmer grows some, selling to millers through grain dealers—price dictators who exploit farmers' individualism. Knowing farmers cannot afford direct transport to mills (which would raise costs), and that the State will ignore wheat surpluses while importing during shortages (2), these middlemen impose prices based on greed, not official rates.

Our Wheat Syndicates will radically eliminate intermediaries by:

1. Establishing local silos in every producing village where farmers sell harvests—large or small—at fixed prices.
2. Channeling grain from local to regional silos, then to mills.
3. Storing surplus from abundant years for lean periods, preserving selected seeds for future planting and poor cultivators.

Does this not recall the royal grain banks (*pósitos*) of 15th-16th century Spain?

Beyond distribution, Syndicates assume two vital roles:

1. Protective Function

- Bulk-purchasing fertilizers, premium seeds, etc.
- Providing tools, machinery, livestock
- Offering low-interest, long-term loans
- Organizing agricultural schools and legal consultations

2. Regulatory Function
Ensuring self-sufficiency through Pliny the Elder's maxim: *"Buy nothing producible locally."* While Spain cannot compete with major wheat producers' natural advantages, dependence on cheaper Canadian/Argentine imports brings twin disasters:

1. Foreign vassalage (strategic vulnerability in war/blockades)
2. Ruin for Spanish farmers

Thus, production must be regulated to prevent shortages or gluts. How?

- **Surplus**: Redirect some farmers to other crops
- **Shortage**: Compel landowners to plant wheat
  Land selection follows soil suitability, with farmers indemnified and reassigned to new Syndicates—a seamless transfer impossible under liberal states but simple for National Syndicalism's fully organized economy.

PRICE-SETTING MECHANISM

The fixed price (*precio de tasa*) must balance national uniformity with local variability. Consider wine grapes:

1. The National Grape Syndicate divides Spain into regions (Jerez, La Mancha, Rioja), then subregions (Rioja Alavesa, Ribera), then localities.
2. Each local Syndicate will set the price per kilogram (3) by dividing production costs on average hectares:
    - Labor wages
    - Expenses (fertilizers, tools, transport, taxes, depreciation, risks)

    - Capital interest
      ...by yield (accounting for land quality and unforeseen droughts/frosts/pests).
3. Subregional prices derive from local averages, regional from subregional, and national from regional—creating a quality-based land selection metric.

This model applies to all agricultural products, adjusting only the sufficiency criterion:

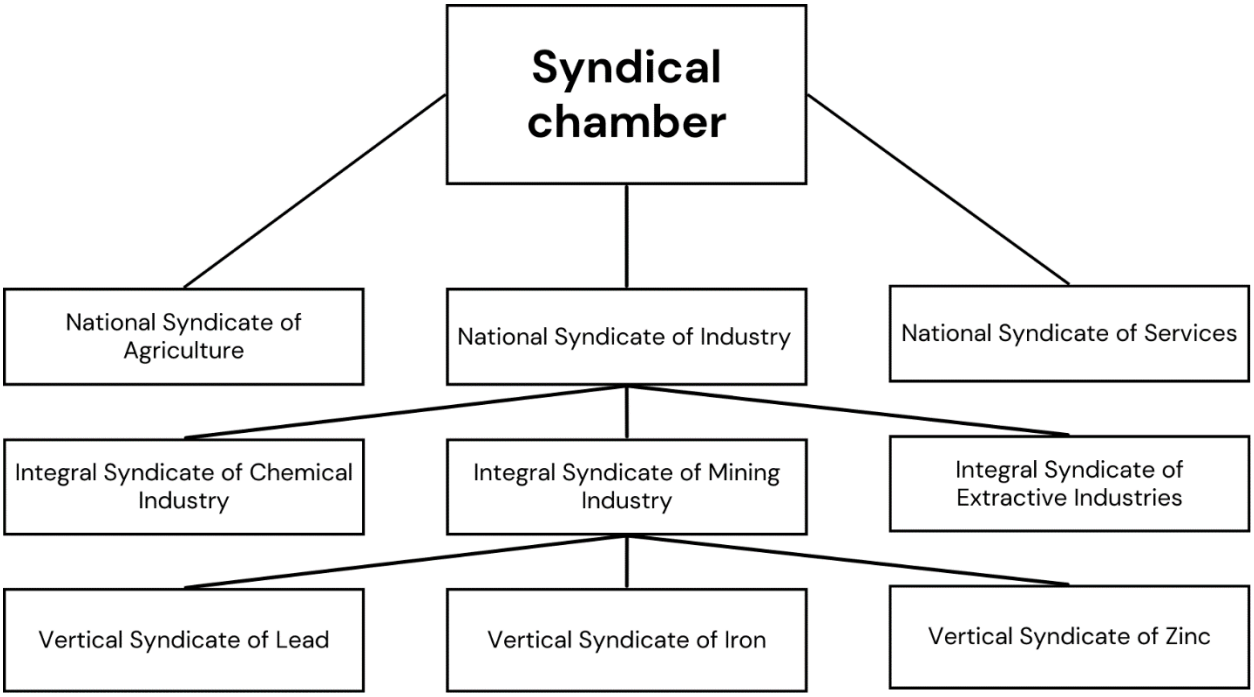
- **Wheat**: Balance domestic production/consumption
- **Oranges/grapes**: Meet export demand
- **Coffee/tea**: Rely on imports (unsuitable for Spanish climate)

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

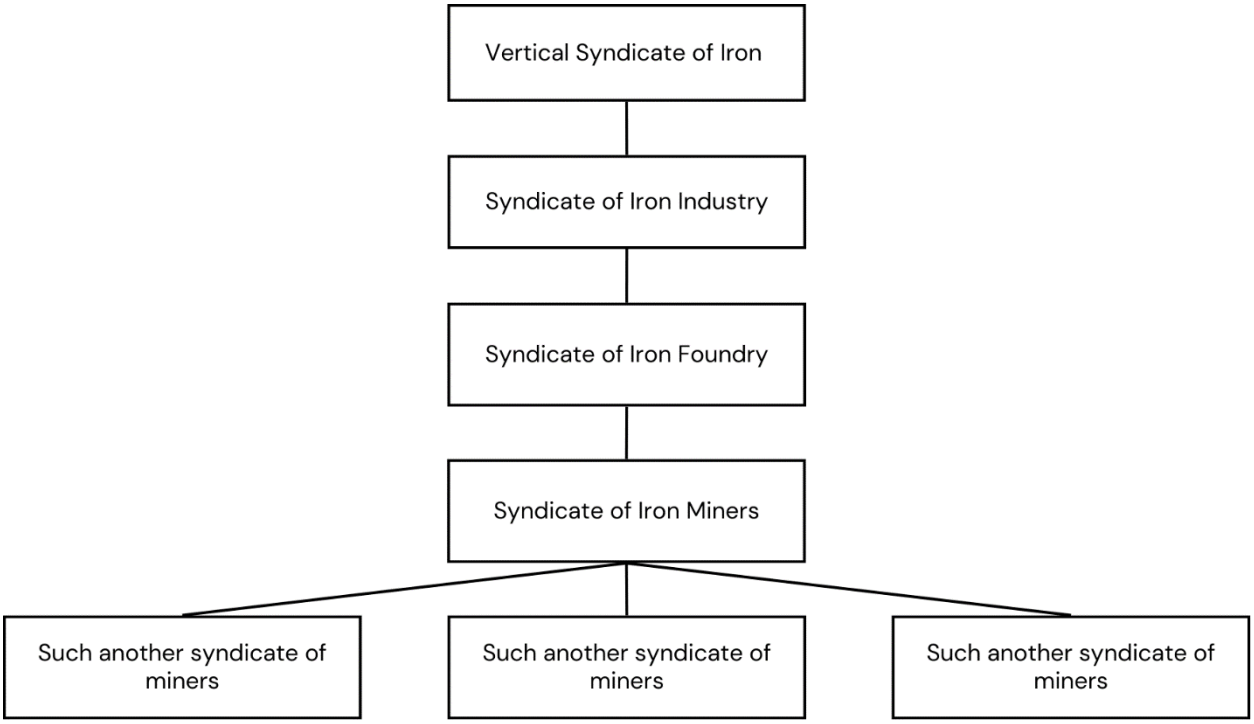
Industrial syndicalization follows similarly through the **National Industry Syndicate** (see diagram).

Note on C.E.N.S. and C.O.N.S. (4):
These employer/worker corporations—often associated with Falangism—have no place in our program. Their coexistence would:

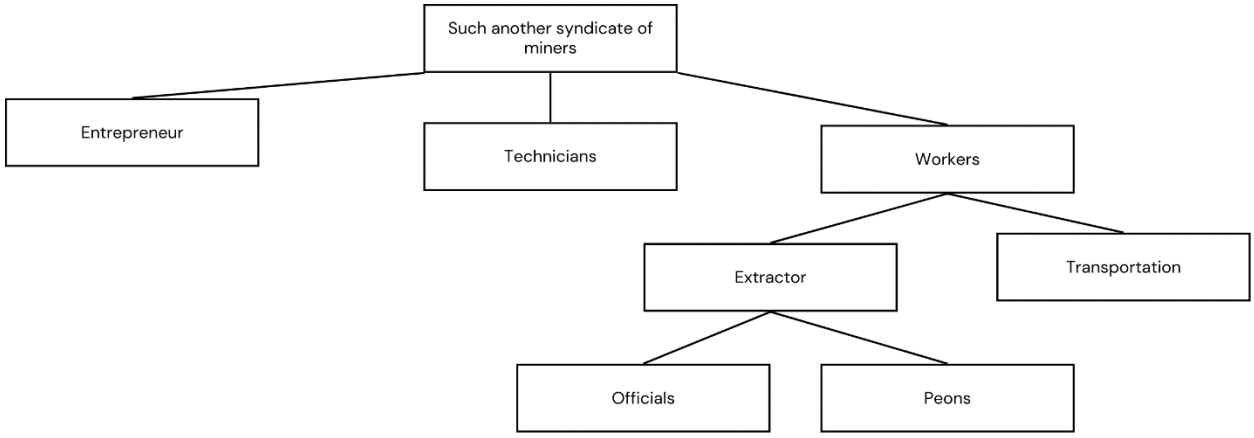
- Signal corporatism, not true syndicalism
- Maintain class divisions and Marxist-style antagonism
  They exist transitionally only because pure implementation requires evolution. In the final structure, all will merge into unified Syndicates of employers, technicians, and workers.


Syndical chamber
National Syndicate of Agriculture
National Syndicate of Industry
National Syndicate of Services
Integral Syndicate of Chemical Industry
Integral Syndicate of Mining Industry
Integral Syndicate of Extractive Industries
Vertical Syndicate of Lead
Vertical Syndicate of Iron
Vertical Syndicate of Zinc

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION CHART


Vertical Syndicate of Iron
Syndicate of Iron Industry
Syndicate of Iron Foundry
Syndicate of Iron Miners
Such another syndicate of miners
Such another syndicate of miners
Such another syndicate of miners

VERTICAL SYNDICATE CHART II



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(1) This book was written (as noted earlier, it should have been published before the Movement) when the Generalísimo issued his magnificent decree on wheat.
(2) The current syndical organization is more advanced: it separates production into two groups - the producer and the product. Producers are organized into Vertical Syndicates combining employers, technicians and workers. Products are organized vertically into complete cycles from raw materials to final processed goods. The former focus solely on workers as human elements

within tasks. The latter concern only economics, aiming for perfect organization and maximum output. (Note from second edition.)
(3) Grapes, like subsequently alcohol and wine, are valued not just by weight or volume but also by density levels.
(4) As this book goes to press, the C.E.N.S. and C.O.N.S. have already been dissolved. However, I chose not to alter the text to demonstrate our doctrine's immutability.

CHAPTER TWENTY- FOUR

ECONOMIC ANARCHY

The freedom of the primitive and isolated individual, that is to say, the freedom which consists in "being as one wishes to be," is impossible from the moment the solitary individual begins to form a society with others.

At that point, the "being as one wishes to be," which was possible while there was no contrary "being as one wishes to be," must necessarily retreat. Unlimited wills can no longer exist, since these wills, not being alone, may clash and ultimately result in the triumph of the strongest over the weakest—that is, unlimited wills cannot exist because anarchy ("being as one wishes to be") always leads to tyranny ("being as one is able to be"), which is the victory of the powerful over the humble.

We must, therefore, limit the scope of freedom to a radius of action such that its sphere of movement does not collide with that of all others who, like him, have equal rights: so that instead of "being as one wishes to be," it becomes "being as one ought to be." Now, the intervention of the State is naturally exercised over the freedom of the individual, and the doubt immediately arises: Are we restricting human freedom?

No; what we restrict is the right to exercise that freedom to the detriment of others.

"The purpose of laws is not to hinder human activity, but to guide it" (1). And we, as Gonnard said referring to Galiano, declare: "We are not systematic enemies of freedom, but enemies of systematic freedom" (2).

Indeed, every body moving in space is simultaneously subject to two forces that balance and equalize each other: the centripetal force and the centrifugal force. From the interaction of these two forces arises balanced motion; from the superiority of one of them, chaos would emerge.

Society, like the celestial bodies, is governed by these same forces, which we have come to call authority and freedom.

If authority were to exert a greater absorptive force over freedom than is measured, individual freedom would immediately disappear, and from the trajectory of civilization, only that hybrid motion of rotation around the authoritarian axis would remain. There would be no political orbit other than tyranny and no social orbit other than slavery.

If, on the contrary, the centrifugal force managed to break free from authority, society would soon be wandering through the fields of the unknown, with no path other than anarchy and no end other than molecular dispersion—until the centripetal force of a new authority restrained this unchecked motion and once again marked the path of equilibrium.

Until now, the national economy has drifted aimlessly, with no compass other than whim and no law other than "laissez-faire." And if not, let us consider the panorama presented by this liberal economy.

The two powers of liberalism were capital and the capital city. And the countryside? For liberalism, founded entirely on universal suffrage (mass and money), the countryside, with its scattered and austere villages, did not exist. To the point that, to favor its powers, it did not hesitate to sacrifice the countryside.

"The great capitals and the great capital cities remain the enemies of the farming humanity, and the countryside is a constant victim of the proletarian or banking gamblers of the city" (3).

One need only look at those brilliant cities created, so to speak, in the last hundred years, with their magnificent avenues, dazzling lighting, and marvelous ornamentation, and then gaze upon these rural hamlets—without water, without light, without local roads, without churches, without schools, and without doctors...

But is the countryside not Spain? Does the countryside truly lack the importance we wish to attribute to it? Not at all. In Spain, two-thirds of its inhabitants live in the countryside, and nine-tenths of the national economy comes from the countryside.

Spain is an eminently agrarian country. A single wheat harvest is worth more than the entire annual production of all the national mines. We are the world's leading producer of grapes and oil, the second in oranges, and a host of other products. Suffice it to say that the annual agricultural production far exceeds 12 billion pesetas.

The neglect of the countryside has no explanation other than the shortsightedness of the Spanish Governments (?), dazzled by capitalism, who failed to understand the greatness of our agrarian wealth.

But the worst was not the forgetting of the countryside, but that whenever the Governments remembered agriculture, it was to sacrifice it—sometimes for the sake of industry, other times for the sake of the city.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate these claims:

First example: Protection for industry. The State has a magnificent weapon to protect the homeland against the invasion of foreign markets: the tariff. Well then, how has this weapon been employed in Spain?

Raw cotton (an agrarian product) paid an import tariff of 10 cents per kilogram. Cotton stockings (an industrial product) paid 8 pesetas per kilogram. This meant that Spain was protected against the industrial invasion of cotton but not against the agrarian one. Thus, we see that in Spain, almost no cotton products were imported, while about 400,000 quintals of raw cotton entered.

Are there no cotton fields in Spain? Yes, there are, and magnificent ones. The issue is that since the tariff does not protect them, they cannot compete with the large foreign markets, and their numbers dwindled over time.

Moreover, we must consider that the period in which cotton cultivation tasks are performed (before the first rains and after the last) does not coincide with any other crop in the region (Andalusia) and could provide countless jobs that are now given to foreign cotton fields.

Due to a similar lack of tariff protection, countless crops in Spain languish or even die out, such as flax, esparto grass, hemp, etc., which have had periods of great splendor, as evidenced by the geographical names that recall them: Linares, Atocha, etc.

It is good to protect industry, but why not also protect agriculture? If Spain is an eminently agrarian country, why not strive for Spanish industry to be supplied by Spanish agriculture? Why must we be vassals, slaves to the foreign market, when we could be providers or, at the very least, independent of the entire world?

Have the liberal rulers considered the importance that this independence would have in the event of a possible international war? Have they considered the countless jobs given to foreign farmers when 70 percent of Spanish peasants are in forced unemployment? Do they believe that, in the face of these enormous realities, the business interests of a few privileged importers should be taken into account? (4).

Second example: Protection for the city. For months on end, we have seen the façades of Madrid's working-class streets covered with the following sign: "Women, protest against the rise in bread prices." It was not that the price of bread had actually risen, but the mere possibility of an increase agitated the city.

Did it matter if preventing this rise required sacrificing the farmer? No: the city demanded it.

Well then, do you know what a 5-cent increase per kilogram in the price of bread would have meant for the rural worker? One hundred and forty million pesetas—one hundred and forty million to distribute in wages, to improve cultivation, to buy land and distribute it among the workers themselves.

But the city worker had said no, and the city worker was a first-class laborer, while the rural worker was second-class.

Another example: The city faced a major unemployment crisis, and on July 27, 1935, a law was passed granting a 20-year tax exemption to anyone who began construction within a few months. Naturally, unemployment was solved.

Of course, it was only solved for the brief period of construction, and this minimal solution cost the state a fabulous sum in lost revenue over twenty years. But costly or not, short-term or long-term, unemployment was solved.

The countryside faced the same problem, but no analogous law was made for rural areas—instead, the "lodgers law" was imposed. Every landowner had to support one or more unemployed workers, and I say "support" because it did not matter whether those sent to agricultural work were farmers or barbers. Often, far from being useful, they were harmful, and landowners had to pay their wages without letting them work. There was even the absurd case of an Andalusian woman who preferred to have her lodgers praying rosaries rather than ruining her fields—"At least," she said, "they'll do something worthwhile."

What would the city have said if, instead of the unemployment law, it had been given the lodgers law? That unemployment wasn't being solved? That the construction industry would collapse? Well, that is exactly what was done to the countryside.

Our stance toward urbanism is not that of the physiocrats: we do not want "a country without cities," as Dupont advocated. But neither do we want our cities to be, as Saint-Péravy called Paris, "the abyss of the nation." Nor can we hold the Roman belief that agriculture is "the only labor worthy of a man" (5). But Spanish agriculture is the foundation of our national economy, and as such, it must be cared for—even pampered.

This was the panorama of the liberal economy: self-interested protections, unjustified neglect, satiated appetites, and production anarchy.

National Syndicalism will be the exact opposite: it will neither protect some to the exclusive privilege of others nor abandon those who are just as Spanish and essential. It will neither indulge selfish appetites nor tolerate anarchy.

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(1) Hobbes: Leviathan.
(2) Gonnard: History of Economic Doctrines.
(3) Rafael Sánchez Mazas. Toro rally, April 1935.
(4) Rafael Sánchez Mazas. Toro rally, April 1935.
(5) Columbia: On Agriculture.

CHAPTER TWENTY- FIVE

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAL SYNDICALISM

National Syndicalism grants wealth (industrial, agrarian, commercial, etc.) autonomy—but not absolute independence.

It holds that all the nation's wealth forms a single entity, the national wealth, and just as an individual with multiple businesses would manage them so that none harm the others—even sacrificing some for the benefit of others if it serves their overall interest—so too does the State have an obligation, more than a right, to organize the entire national economy as one and direct it toward the common good, sacrificing whatever must be sacrificed, since private interest can never supersede the general interest.

National Syndicalism declares the century of *laissez-faire* over. Freedom, as we saw in the previous chapter, leads to libertinism, and it has been libertinism—with its entourage of hatred, greed, and mercantilism—that has marked, to our shame and Spain's ruin, the path taken by the national economy until today.

How often did private interests sacrifice the nation's well-being for their exclusive gain! How often did tariffs serve not the nation but some influential manufacturer!

Did it matter if a Spanish industry collapsed? If thousands of families were left in abject misery? What did it matter? Have we not seen the ruin of Andalusian cotton fields and La Mancha's flax farms when a group of manufacturers lobbied the State to modify tariffs until it became cheaper to buy from Egypt or India than from Spain itself?

The authority of the new State must not aim to annul individual freedom but to channel it so that, through economic disarray, private initiative cannot harm the national economy. It must prevent destructive competition, improve cultivation, select fields, organize markets, and regulate prices.

But how will this direction be exercised?

Those steeped in liberal economics will raise this objection: In the liberal economy, wages and salaries were set by employers. But now, if profits are not solely the employer's, neither should losses fall entirely on them. So when a business fails, who pays the wages, salaries, and interest?

National Syndicalism will act like an entrepreneur with diverse enterprises. Perhaps one, isolated, yields no profit—but if it prevents dependence on a rival or benefits the rest, that "unprofitable" enterprise still serves a purpose (if not material, then moral), justifying its preservation.

Similarly, the State—unlike the private individual, who sought only profit—will judge enterprises not by their balance sheets but by their social function. If an enterprise nationalizes an industry, solves unemployment, creates wealth, or supports other nationally beneficial industries, the

State will sustain it, covering its deficit. Conversely, if an enterprise harms the nation (through ruinous overproduction or exhausting competition), it will be abolished, regardless of profits.

Take railways as an example.

Most Spanish railways are financially ruinous. Of course, by trimming bloated administrative boards and overstaffed payrolls inflated by nepotism (*yernocracia*), they might break even. But suppose they remain unprofitable—should they disappear?

Absolutely not. In peacetime, rapid transport sustains countless industries; in war, it is as vital as artillery. Thus, it is necessary—even if "unprofitable." Do we not spend millions maintaining a standing army? Is there anything more "unprofitable," viewed purely as a business?

The difference is that National Syndicalism is not merely an economic machine but a total one, weighing not just economic but social and national factors. Under liberal economics, the sole compass was profit; national function was irrelevant, and producers cared only for gain—even at the nation's expense. Was the nation not meant to serve the individual? Life revolved around money. Now, economic activity will take its proper place: "The people do not exist for the economy, nor the economy for capital—but capital for the economy, and the economy for the people" (1).

A well-run enterprise should ideally sustain itself. But when the State deems its survival necessary, it will ensure it—though without profits to distribute, as the State will only cover wages, salaries, and interest. Conversely, excessive profits will be capped, with surpluses offsetting losses elsewhere.

Under liberalism, disparities were stark. For instance, mining was often ruinous, while processing the same minerals made industrialists wealthy. The industrialist grew rich as the miner went bankrupt—though the former's wealth depended on the latter. Never would profits be shared to keep the miner afloat, even to safeguard the business. This caused frequent economic collapses.

Under National Syndicalism, there will be no fabulous fortunes—but no destitution either.

Yet liberals will ask: If the State controls all, is private initiative abolished?

Not at all. What is abolished is production anarchy. "We must structure the economy through Syndicates that destroy the anarchism of capitalist production" (2). "The National Syndicalist State will permit all private initiative compatible with collective interest—even protecting and stimulating beneficial ventures" (3).

The difference is that all producers will adhere to a preconceived framework (like urban zoning or architectural blueprints)—but this direction will come from producers themselves, not political speculators.

Indeed, have we not said that Syndicates *are* the nation? Thus, when the nation intervenes in the economy, it is the Syndicates—the producers themselves—who act. "The economy will be disciplined—not by State coercion that kills private initiative, but by the self-discipline of producers in the national interest" (4).

National Syndicalism's first task will be aligning production with consumption (domestic and export), avoiding both unjustified overproduction (which devalues and ruins industries) and scarcity (which inflates prices). Factories will close or open as needed.

In industry as in agriculture, we will be self-sufficient, prioritizing Spanish raw materials. No industry may import foreign materials when Spanish agriculture or mining can supply them.

In summary: National Syndicates for agriculture, industry, and commerce will be interlinked in a single harmonious system. Agriculture will produce what industry or commerce demand; industry will meet consumption needs—no more, no less.

Under National Syndicalism, farmers, industrialists, and merchants will not be autonomous individualists but components of guiding Syndicates, working not for personal gain but for the nation—which, in the end, benefits all. For in the long run, those most helped by this directed economy are those it may seem to restrict initially.

After all, under the old system, the balance between production and consumption was achieved by the crudest method: elimination through competition.

Take the sugar beet business, for example. Instead of planting only as many beets as the sugar factories required, or producing only as much sugar as the market demanded, all the farmers and industrialists in Spain rushed to cultivate beets and build factories—regardless of whether the land was suitable, whether the factories were strategically located, or whether markets had been secured.

And what happened? Most farmers and industrialists began production only to face a veritable calvary, which almost always ended in ruin.

More factories were built than necessary, and to determine which would survive, a deadly war of attrition began—one that demanded enormous expenditures. Naturally, the strongest always triumphed, while the rest collapsed exhausted, their misery marking the sorrowful path of free competition.

The same happened to farmers. Some found no market; others discovered their products—grown in unsuitable soil—were either devalued or outright rejected. One by one, they fell into disillusionment, having lost money and time, and having ruined their land in the process.

How these victims would have thanked a strong, guiding organization for disillusioning them in time!

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(1) Adolf Hitler. Speech before the Reichstag on the first anniversary of his rise to power (January 30, 1934).
(2) Manuel Mateo. Rally of May 19, 1935 at the Cine Madrid.
(3) Point 8.
(4) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Lecture of April 15, 1935 at the F.E. headquarters.

CHAPTER TWENTY- SIX

SYNDICALISM AND CORPORATISM

We have stated that National Syndicalism is not Corporatism, and since many confuse these two concepts, we shall clearly outline their differences:

1. Politically

National Syndicalism is a total solution for the State. Corporatism is a partial solution, as it only addresses economic problems. "What solution does it offer, for example, to international issues? The best attempt so far has been made in Italy, where it remains merely an adjunct to a perfected political machine" (1).

To speak of a "Corporate State" would be like us speaking of a "Syndicalist State." It would be insufficient; we would face countless unsolvable problems—all those of a non-economic or extra-social nature, whose solution lies in the word "National" that precedes "Syndicalist" in our doctrine.

"The corporate systems existing today have not resolved, in accordance with the spirit of the doctrine, the great problem of the origin of public power. Corporations are neither the source nor the foundation of sovereignty. In Corporate States, public power still resides in extra-corporate forces or organizations capable of overcoming the organized particularism of distinct social functions. What political science calls 'pure corporatism' has yet to achieve full realization in any country" (2).

"Today, the Corporate State does not exist, nor is it known whether it would be good" (3). Baron Vogelsang, architect of Austrian corporatism, stated: "Corporations will be protected by the State" (4), while Hitze argued: "Corporations... must not be official" (5). In other words, they conceived corporations as economic bodies attached to the political body—the protective State. We do not envision National Syndicalism as "protected" by the State, because we reject this duality, just as we do not consider the army or navy as "attached" to the State, since they are part of the State itself. This does not mean, however, that the army or navy should have, say, religious or economic prerogatives.

2. Economically

Corporatism is not a perfect solution to the social problem because:

a) Corporatism does not renounce class divisions. By maintaining separate guilds for employers and unions for workers, it acknowledges conflicting interests. National Syndicalism, conversely, holds that employers, technicians, and workers share a single interest: production. Each group is

a necessary—though insufficient—component of the productive machinery. Neither capital, nor technical expertise, nor labor can produce alone. Thus, all are part of the same class, and all, within their professional hierarchies, are equally producers. This is why our Syndicates are not divided into separate unions for employers and workers (as discussed regarding the C.E.N.S. and C.O.N.S.), but are unified into a single Syndicate.

b) Corporatism does not fully eliminate class struggle, since it recognizes classes. Although groups are united at the top in a national corporate chamber, this unity is too distant to prevent mutual distrust between employers and workers at the base. National Syndicalism, by denying class distinctions, renders such struggles impossible.

"We want no classes, because this is the way to ensure no conflicts. Our system will make class struggle radically impossible, as all who cooperate in production form an organic totality" (6).

In contrast, our Syndicates "will need neither joint committees nor liaison bodies, because they will function organically—like an army, for example, where no one would dream of forming a joint committee of soldiers and officers" (7).

In summary: Corporatism requires mediators and mixed tribunals because it anticipates conflict—and it anticipates conflict because it recognizes classes, which stems from the error of dividing men into sellers of labor (workers) and buyers of labor (employers).

"The Corporate State has not even been implemented in Italy; what is called a 'corporation' there is, in reality, nothing more than an immense mixed jury or joint committee. On one side, the workers' confederation; on the other, the employers' federation; and at the top, crowning the structure, the corporation. That is, in Italy today, the premise is that capital and labor are necessarily opposed and must be harmonized for production's sake. When in truth, the goal should be to fuse both into a supreme synthesis: a unitary, higher concept integrating capital and labor as essential elements of the economic process. Only when this synthesis is achieved can we speak of a true corporation" (8).

National Syndicalism, however, conceives the enterprise as a society of producers where each contributes—some through capital and management, others through technical skills or labor—and all share in the profits in two ways: a fixed portion (wages for workers, salaries for technicians, and interest or capital returns for employers) and a variable portion from residual profits, distributed proportionally according to participation and hierarchy.

3. Morally

Corporatism is an imported product, while National Syndicalism is born from Spain and for Spain, extracting from the popular soul the national essence of its characteristic vices and virtues (9).

An oft-repeated example, now published, will illustrate this more clearly:

"In my building, the landlord lived on the main floor; on the first floor, a wealthy man; on the second, an aristocrat; on the third, a merchant; on the fourth, myself; and in the attic, Mr. Cruz, the tinsmith.

"Whenever the artisan's wife gave birth—which she did with minimal biological frequency—all us tenants hurried to send a chicken, a basket of clothes, or a cake to celebrate the baptism. In return, Mr. Cruz would fix a leaky tap, solder a broken gadget, or dismantle and clean the sink pipe. When we met in the hallway, we'd chat for a while, share a cigarette, and complain about the government.

"But one day, the 'trade association' assigned him an apartment in a working-class district. He moved there, and the friendship ended forever. His wife will keep giving birth without anyone [sending gifts], and if we call for a tinsmith now, it won't be Mr. Cruz—just a worker who keeps glancing at the clock, etc.

"Of course! We'll no longer be friends; I'll be an employer, and he'll be a worker" (10).

Well, corporatism also seeks to relocate the Spanish worker (Mr. Cruz) to his designated district, into his workers' union, leaving the city building for the rich—for the employers' guild.

In the district, Mr. Cruz will have more space, more rooms, even a private garden. But since Mr. Cruz is no materialist—being Spanish, and thus familial, proud, independent—he'll be less happy. He'll feel the humiliation of being segregated like a pariah; he'll miss the patriarchal warmth of the city building, the exchanged cigarettes with the landlord, the chats as equals, and the odd jobs he did with the pride of refusing payment.

He lived worse but with more dignity; he climbed to the attic, but through the same doorway as the aristocrat and the magnate, amid mutual greetings and affection. He was a tinsmith, but he was *Mr. Cruz*! He had his own identity!

Now, one of two things will happen: Either Mr. Cruz resigns himself to the new environment, lured by the comforts of the district, and grows resentful toward his old neighbors and attic—that is, the vulgar materialism of valuing more space and light over dignity and patriarchal warmth wins—or the spiritualism of the Spanish character ("man does not live by bread alone") prevails, and Mr. Cruz rejects the district to return to his attic, resuming his cigarettes, chats, and exchanged favors.

National Syndicalism does not want Mr. Cruz isolated in a separate group. It wants his attic to be larger, more comfortable, more cheerful—but for him to stay there. Not to uproot Mr. Cruz in pursuit of comfort, but to bring comfort to him: the accessory must seek the essential, not the other way around.

Thus, National Syndicalism does not create separate Syndicates for workers and employers. Instead, it groups all under one roof—housing different professional hierarchies on different floors, but *as brothers*!

These Syndicates, federated with others yet retaining their familial character (as houses form streets without ceasing to be homes), will build larger Syndicates, and these in turn even larger ones, until together they constitute the National Syndicalist State—just as streets form neighborhoods, and neighborhoods form a city.

And just as a city could exist without neighborhoods or streets but not without the essential nucleus of the home, so too is the Syndicate the core of the National Syndicalist State. This differs from corporatism, which starts from something as amorphous and confused as a working-class district.

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(1) José Antonio. Valladolid rally of March 4.
(2) Excerpts from his works translated from Vallemand.
(3) Capital and Labor.
(4) José Antonio. Valladolid rally of March 4.
(5) José Antonio. Lecture at the Círculo de la Unión Mercantil, April 9.
(6) R. Fernández-Cuesta. Lecture of April 15, 1935 at the F.E. headquarters.
(7) José Antonio. Rally of March 4, 1935 in Valladolid.
(8) Gil Robles, prologue to the book Corporativism, by Ruiz Alonso.
(9) This book ended here in June 1936, but since the example I cite below greatly clarifies the previous concepts, I have no hesitation in adding (today, September 1937) the following pages, as well as some observations made in the text.
(10) Spain, Awake, by X. Y. Z. Chapter: "The Solution", note.

POSTDATA

Four years have passed since the date when this book should have been published.

At that time, only José Antonio's prologue was missing, but first the revolution and then unforeseen circumstances delayed it until today. And now, beyond the initial hesitation about publishing it, an even greater doubt remained: Should I revise it, adapting it to experience? Because these four years have not been a pause but a time of intense and active life; not a period of stillness, but of movement.

In the history of our Movement, there are two clearly defined eras, yet they are episodes of the same upward trajectory: the Evangelical Era and the Triumphal Era (just as socialism had its utopian and practical phases).

The first is due to the foresight of an exceptional man, a thaumaturgic colossus who could see the Spanish soul as if through crystal and kept faith when no one else believed, strength when all faltered, and the will to restore that faith and vigor to a failing Spain when others contemplated euthanasia.

That colossus was José Antonio Primo de Rivera.

The second is due to another exceptional man whom God placed in Spain so that Spain might be saved when all seemed lost—a man who, at the summons of a Fatherland unwilling to die, gathered its last heartbeats, fortified them, and from a Spain that was nothing made a Spain that promises everything: the Generalísimo Franco.

But let us remember that these two men are not sporadic geniuses. They are the historical continuity of the same Movement. The first was the Prophet; the second is the Leader. The first embodied the reason of the Movement; the second, the Movement of reason.

Had José Antonio, upon falling in Alicante, not found behind him a reincarnation of his revolutionary spirit capable of turning his program into reality, all his revolutionary yearning would have been lost forever.

We are not flatterers; precisely because we are not, we have known more prisons than palace antechambers.

That is why, with the blunt language of the *camisa vieja*—of the man who has lost much and lost it gladly, thinking of the grain of sand he contributed to the new Spain; of the man who thus has the right to remain satisfied and to demand that his sacrifices not be in vain nor the blood of his dead despised—we must judge this Triumphal Era not only by the war won but by the revolution being made.

For if Franco were merely a victorious general, a fortunate *Caudillo*, those of us who believe Spain must be cleansed not in blood but in justice—who see the war, being between brothers, as a sad and painful episode; who would erase fratricidal spoils from our triumphal chariot—could not applaud him.

But (and this is Franco's true positive work) the revolution advances.

And those who saw July 18 as merely a vengeful uprising to restore the old order...
And those who saw July 18 as a 19th-century-style military coup, full of spur-clattering and scrap metal but no purpose beyond satisfying appetites...
And those who saw July 18 only as spoiled revelers refusing to relinquish their merry lives—they have since realized their mistake.

For the revolution advances, and it advances because the plutocrats and the disinherited have renounced their chimeras, the military think only of the Fatherland, and
the *señoritos* fight *"precisely for what does not interest us as* señoritos*."*

This is Franco's true positive work: to win the war and the revolution simultaneously—without which the battlefield victory would have been a tragic defeat.

That is why this book, published four years late, holds not only commemorative value but also, and even more so, the value of verification. That is why I present it intact, without removing a single word originally intended for publication. Because these lines, written four years ago and now perhaps slightly yellowed, still pulse with vitality—they are the true affirmation of our revolutionary continuity, proof that the revolution we dreamed of is being realized.

And that is why, finally, this book—which nowhere names Franco—is his greatest praise.